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28 October 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1466

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28 October 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1466

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YUGOSLAV-SOVIET DELEGATES DEBATE AT CONFERENCE ON SOCIALISM

[Editorial Report] The 7 October 1977 issue of the Yugoslav trade union paper RAD (Belgrade) (page 13), in discussing the recent international conference on "Socialism in the World" held in Cavtat, Yugoslavia (and billed as "open discussions" marking a "departure from dogmatism") said a polemic developed between Dr Miladin Korac, professor at Belgrade University, and Soviet delegate Yuri Krasin from Moscow on the role of the state and self-management socialism. "Korac in his statement proved that when worker-producers decide about their income in basic organizations of associated labor and freely exchange labor with workers in social sectors through interest communities, there is no place at all for a monopolistic role by the state. In other words, our political system by nature leads to self-management socioeconomic relations in production.

"Krasin intervened by asserting that nevertheless state intervention is necessary if one does not want to turn socialism from its path. He explained his statement thus: organizations of associated labor establish mutual market relations where uncontrolled elements prevail. Because action outside the law of the market must not be permitted, only the state can prevent anarchy. Thus, again a strong state is necessary.

"Korac replied that this would be correct if organizations of associated labor were indeed left abandoned only to the market. But through self-management and income connections, organizations rule the market and make its uncontrolled action impossible.

"Since they are forced to come to agreement, Krasin again said, the organizations can also get into a situation where they cannot agree. In this case the League of Communists is forced to intervene. Because the principle of democratic centralism prevails in the League of Communists, it means that self-management cannot operate without centralism.

"After Korac's third explanation, Krasin did not speak again. But Korac explained that the connection involving self-management and income is the common interest of all organizations of associated labor and these report to each other. Thus there is no reason to avoid coming to agreement. Besides, communists share in the process of agreeing, instead of waiting, as Krasin assumed, until 'fire breaks out.' Korac stressed that he spoke only about Yugoslav theoretical perceptions which are legalized in all our documents, and that our practice still differs in many ways from that which we would like to achieve."

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUSAK LAUDS SOVIET MILITARY DURING MILOVICE VISIT

Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Oct 77 p 3 LD

[Our correspondent Lt Col V. Kholodulkin report: "Visiting Soviet Servicemen"]

[Text] Central Group of Forces--Comrade G. Husak, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee and CSSR president, has visited the Group Forces. Visiting the servicemen of the Central Group of Forces with him were army General M. Dzur, CSSR minister of national defense; Col Gen V. Valo, CSSR first deputy minister of national defense; Col Gen K. Rusov, CSSR first deputy minister of national defense and chief of general staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army, and Lt Gen A. Brabec, chief of the Czechoslovak People's Army main political directorate. Comrade Husak and those accompanying him familiarized themselves with the life and combat and political training of the Soviet servicemen, attended a tactical exercise by a motorized battalion and observed operations by combat engineer, armored, motorized and artillery subunits to force a water obstacle. Then the Czechoslovak guests inspected aviation equipment. During their visit to the Milovice garrison, Comrade Husak and his companions laid a wreath at the V. I. Lenin monument.

A meeting between Soviet servicemen and the Czechoslovak guests took place in the Group's Officers' House. In his speech Comrade Husak wholeheartedly congratulated the Soviet soldiers, sergeants, ensigns, officers and members of their families on the imminent great and joyful holiday of the 60th anniversary of Great October. He rated highly the standard of combat and political training of the soldiers and officers of the Soviet armed forces, and noted the successfully developing cooperation and consolidation of fraternal international relations between the Soviet and Czechoslovak soldiers. Comrade Husak stressed the significance of the activity of the Warsaw Pact organization for the security of the socialist community countries and for safeguarding the peaceful labor and life of their peoples. Our party and the Czechoslovak state, he said, will continue, side by side with the USSR and the other socialist countries, to struggle consistently for the consolidation of peace and the relaxation of tension in the military sphere too. This was reaffirmed by the fraternal socialist countries at the

congresses of their parties, and at the Bucharest Conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee.

Colonel General D. Sukhorukov, the Group's commander, wholeheartedly thanked the eminent guest for the warm words he addressed to the Soviet people and Soviet Army. V. Matskevich, USSR ambassador to the CSSR, was present at the meeting.

CSO: 1800

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIAN-HUNGARIAN BORDER TRAFFIC AGREEMENT

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 87, 18 Aug 77 pp 2-7

[Decision of the Council of Ministers for Approving the Agreement Referring to the Amendment of the Agreement Between the Government of the Romanian Socialist Republic and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic on Minor Border Traffic, Signed in Oradea on 16 June 1977]

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the Romanian Socialist Republic decides:

Sole article. The Agreement Referring to the Amendment of the Agreement of 17 June 1969 Between the Government of the Romanian Socialist Republic and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic on Minor Border Traffic, signed in Oradea on 16 June 1977, is approved.

Council of Ministers
of the Romanian Socialist Republic

Prime Minister,
Manea Manescu

Bucharest, 11 August 1977.
No 187.

Agreement

Referring to the Amendment of the Agreement Between the Government of the Romanian Socialist Republic and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic on Minor Border Traffic, Concluded in Budapest on 17 June 1969

The government of the Romanian Socialist Republic and the government of the Hungarian People's Republic, in the desire to further strengthen and develop the friendly relations between the two states and in order to widen the contacts of their citizens living in the Romanian-Hungarian state border zone and facilitate their travels, have decided to conclude an agreement on the amendment of the Agreement on Minor Border Traffic, concluded in Budapest on 17 June 1969, between the government of the Romanian Socialist Republic and the government of the Hungarian People's Republic.

To this end, the parties named their representatives:

Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs, for the government of the Romanian Socialist Republic;

Istvan Roska, deputy minister of foreign affairs, for the government of the Hungarian People's Republic,

Who, after the exchange of their credentials, found in due and proper form, agreed on the following:

Article 1. Article 1 of the Agreement Between the Government of the Romanian Socialist Republic and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic on Minor Border Traffic, signed on 17 June 1969 in Budapest, ("the Agreement on Minor Border Traffic," in what follows) will have the following content:

"Article 1. By 'the minor border traffic zone,' in the sense of the present agreement, there is meant the strip of territory that stretches for a distance of 20 km, on both sides, from the Romanian-Hungarian state borderline.

"The localities in the minor border traffic zones are those mentioned in Appendix 1, which is an integral part of the present agreement."

Article 2. Article 4 of the Agreement on Minor Border Traffic will have the following content:

"Article 4. The border-crossing permit authorizes 12 (twelve) trips per year, with the duration of up to 6 (six) days of stay for each trip, in the minor border traffic zone of the other contracting party.

"The duration of the stay can be extended by the competent militia bodies of the receiving state for at most 10 (ten) days and only in special cases (births, marriages, serious illnesses, and deaths).

"The period of validity for which the border-crossing permit is issued is established in conformity with the domestic legislation of the issuing state.

"The citizen of one contracting party who during the stay on the territory of the other contracting party has lost the identity card or the border-crossing permit--or if they have been destroyed--is obligated to immediately notify the local militia bodies of the receiving state about this matter. In these cases, the local militia bodies will issue a document from which the things declared above follow, on the basis of which the person in question will be able to cross the state border."

Article 3. The present agreement will be subject to the approval of the government of each contracting party and will go into effect 60 (sixty) days after the date of the exchange of notes by means of which its approval is confirmed.

The agreement was concluded in Oradea on 16 June 1977, in two original copies, each in the Romanian language and the Hungarian language, both texts having the same value.

For the government of
the Romanian Socialist Republic

For the government of
the Hungarian People's Republic

Constantin Oancea,
deputy minister of foreign affairs

Istvan Roska,
deputy minister of foreign affairs

Appendix 1.

I. The localities contained in the minor border traffic zone, in accordance with Article 1, Paragraph 2, of the agreement, are the following:

A. On the territory of the Romanian Socialist Republic

- Timis County
1. The commune of Beba Veche,
with the villages of:
 1. Beba Veche
 2. Cherestur
 3. Pordeanu
 2. The commune of Cenad,
with the village of:
 1. Cenad
 3. The commune of Dudestii Vechi,
with the villages of:
 1. Dudestii Vechi
 2. Cheglevici
 3. Colonia Bulgara
 4. Valcani
 4. The commune of Lovrin,
with the villages of:
 1. Lovrin
 2. Tomnatic
 5. The commune of Periam,
with the villages of:
 1. Periam
 2. Pesac
 6. The city of Sinnicolau Mare
 7. The commune of Sinpetru Mare,
with the villages of:
 1. Sinpetru Mare
 2. Igris
 3. Saravale

8. The commune of Teremia Mare,
with the villages of:
 1. Teremia Mica
 2. Nerau

- Arad County
1. The municipality of Arad,
with the locality of:
 1. Arad*
 2. The city of Chisineu-Cris
 3. The city of Curtici,
with the village of:
 1. Dorobanti
 4. The commune of Felnac,
with the villages of:
 1. Felnac
 2. Calugareni
 3. Bodrogu Nou
 4. Zadareni
 5. The commune of Graniceri,
with the villages of:
 1. Graniceri
 2. Siclau
 6. The commune of Iratosu,
with the villages of:
 1. Iratosu
 2. Variasu Mare
 3. Variasu Mic

* It is not possible to travel in these cities with permits issued on the basis of the Agreement on Minor Border Traffic.

7. The commune of Livada, a suburb of the municipality of Arad, with the villages of:
 1. Livada
 2. Sinleani
 8. The commune of Macea, with the villages of:
 1. Macea
 2. Sinmartin
 9. The commune of Misca, with the villages of:
 1. Misca
 2. Vinatori
 3. Zerindu Mic
 4. Satu Nou
 10. The city of Nadlac
 11. The commune of Olari, with the village of:
 1. Olari
 12. The commune of Pecica, with the villages of:
 1. Pecica
 2. Bodrogu Vechi
 3. Sederhat
 4. Turnu
 13. The commune of Peregu Mare, with the villages of:
 1. Peregu Mare
 2. Peregu Mic
 14. The commune of Pilu, with the villages of:
 1. Pilu
 2. Varsand
 15. The village of Nadab, which belongs to the city of Chisineu-Cris
 16. The commune of Secusigiu, with the villages of:
 1. Secusigiu
 2. Munar
 3. Sinpetru German
 17. The commune of Semlac
 18. The commune of Sintana, with the village of:
 1. Sintana
 19. The commune of Sinteia Mare, with the villages of:
 1. Sinteia Mare
 2. Adea
 20. The commune of Socodor, with the village of:
 1. Socodor
 21. The commune of Seitin, with the village of:
 1. Seitin
 22. The commune of Simand, with the village of:
 1. Simand
 23. The commune of Sofronea, a suburb of the municipality of Arad, with the villages of:
 1. Sofronea
 2. Sinpaul
 24. The commune of Zarand, with the village of:
 1. Cinteii
 25. The commune of Zerind, with the villages of:
 1. Zerind
 2. Iermata Neagra
 26. The commune of Zimandu Nou, with the villages of:
 1. Zimandu Nou
 2. Andrei Saguna
 3. Zimandcuz
- Bihor County
1. The commune of Abramut, with the villages of:
 1. Abramut
 2. Fancica
 3. Crestur
 2. The commune of Avram Iancu, with the villages of:
 1. Avram Iancu
 2. Ant
 3. Tamasda
 3. The commune of Batar, with the village of:
 1. Batar
 4. The commune of Biharia, with the villages of:
 1. Biharia
 2. Cauaceu
 3. Niuved
 4. Parhida
 5. Satu Nou
 6. Tamaseu

5. The commune of Bors,
with the villages of:
 1. Bors
 2. Santaul Mare
 3. Santaul Mic
 4. Sintion
6. The commune of Buduslau,
with the villages of:
 1. Buduslau
 2. Albis
7. The commune of Cefa,
with the villages of:
 1. Cefa
 2. Ateas
 3. Berechiu
 4. Bicaci
 5. Gepiu
 6. Inand
 7. Roit
 8. Sinnicolau Roman
8. The commune of Cetariu,
with the villages of:
 1. Cetariu
 2. Paleu
 3. Saldabagiu de Munte
 4. Sisterea
 5. Susturogi
 6. Tautelec
 7. Uileacu de Munte
9. The commune of Cherechiu,
with the villages of:
 1. Cherechiu
 2. Chesereu
 3. Tirgusor
10. The commune of Chislaz,
with the villages of:
 1. Chislaz
 2. Sarsig
 3. Poclusa de Barcau
 4. Sinlazar
11. The commune of Ciumeghiu,
with the villages of:
 1. Ciumeghiu
 2. Boiu
 3. Ghiorac
12. The commune of Ciuhoi,
with the villages of:
 1. Ciuhoi
 2. Sfirnas
 3. Cenalos
 4. Siniob
13. The commune of Curtuiseni,
with the villages of:
 1. Curtuiseni
 2. Vasad
14. The commune of Diosig,
with the villages of:
 1. Diosig
 2. Ianca
 3. Mihai Bravu
 4. Rosiori
 5. Vaida
15. The commune of Girisu de Cris,
with the villages of:
 1. Girisu de Cris
 2. Cheresig
 3. Tarian
 4. Toboliu
16. The commune of Husasau de Tinca,
with the villages of:
 1. Miersig
 2. Sititelec
17. The commune of Ineu,
with the village of:
 1. Husasau de Cris
18. The commune of Madaras,
with the villages of:
 1. Madaras
 2. Homorog
 3. Ianosda
 4. Martihaz
19. The commune of Nojorid,
with the villages of:
 1. Nojorid
 2. Chisirid
 3. Les
 4. Livada de Bihor
 5. Pausa
 6. Sauaieu
 7. Apateu
20. The municipality of Oradea,
with the locality of:
 1. Oradea*

* It is not possible to travel in these cities with permits issued on the basis of the Agreement on Minor Border Traffic.

21. The commune of Osorhei,
with the villages of:
 1. Osorhei
 2. Cheri
 3. Fughiu
 22. The commune of Salacea,
with the villages of:
 1. Salacea
 2. Otomani
 23. The city of Salonta
 24. The commune of Sacueni,
with the villages of:
 1. Sacueni
 2. Cadea
 3. Ciocaia
 4. Cubulcut
 5. Olosig
 6. Sinnicolau de Munte
 25. The commune of Salard,
with the villages of:
 1. Salard
 2. Hodos
 3. Sintimreu
 26. The commune of Simian,
with the villages of:
 1. Simian
 2. Silindru
 3. Voivozi
 27. The commune of Sinmartin, a suburb
of the municipality of Oradea,
with the villages of:
 1. Sinmartin
 2. Cihei
 3. Cordau
 4. Haieu
 5. Rontau
 28. The commune of Sintandrei, a suburb
of the municipality of Oradea,
with the villages of:
 1. Sintandrei
 2. Palota
 29. The commune of Sirbi,
with the villages of:
 1. Sirbi
 2. Fegernic
 3. Fegernicu Nou
 30. The commune of Tarcea,
with the villages of:
 1. Tarcea
 2. Adoni
 3. Galospetreu
 31. The commune of Tulca,
with the villages of:
 1. Tulca
 2. Cauasd
 32. The commune of Valea lui Mihai,
with the village of:
 1. Valea lui Mihai
 33. The village of Arpasel in the
commune of Batar
- Satu Mare County
1. The commune of Ardud,
with the villages of:
 1. Baba Novac
 2. Madaras
 2. The commune of Andrid,
with the villages of:
 1. Andrid
 2. Dindesti
 3. Irina
 3. The commune of Batarci,
with the village of:
 1. Tamaseni
 4. The commune of Berveni,
with the villages of:
 1. Berveni
 2. Lucaceni
 5. The commune of Botiz,
with the villages of:
 1. Botiz
 2. Agris
 3. Ciuperceni
 6. The commune of Cauas,
with the villages of:
 1. Ghenci
 2. Radulesti
 7. The city of Carei,
with the localities of:
 1. Carei
 2. Ianculesti
 8. The commune of Capleni, a suburb
of the city of Carei,
with the villages of:
 1. Capleni
 2. Camin
 9. The commune of Culciu,
with the villages of:
 1. Apateu
 2. Corod

10. The commune of Craidorolt,
with the villages of:
 1. Craidorolt
 2. Criseni
11. The commune of Doba,
with the villages of:
 1. Doba
 2. Boghis
 3. Dacia
 4. Paulian
 5. Traian
12. The commune of Dorolt,
with the villages of:
 1. Dorolt
 2. Atea
 3. Dara
 4. Petea
13. The commune of Foieni,
with the village of:
 1. Foieni
14. The commune of Halmeu,
with the villages of:
 1. Halmeu
 2. Babesti
 3. Cidreag
 4. Dobolt
 5. Halmeu-Vii
 6. Mesteacan
 7. Porumbesti
15. The commune of Lazuri,
with the villages of:
 1. Lazuri
 2. Bercu
 3. Nisipeni
 4. Noroieni
 5. Peles
 6. Pelisor
16. The commune of Livida,
with the villages of:
 1. Livida
 2. Dumbrava
 3. Adrian
17. The commune of Micula,
with the villages of:
 1. Micula
 2. Bercu Nou
 3. Micula Noua
18. The commune of Moftin,
with the villages of:
 1. Moftinu Mic
 2. Domanesti
 3. Ghilvaci
 4. Moftinu Mare
 5. Simmiclaus
 6. Ghiroit
 7. Istrau
19. The commune of Odoreu,
with the villages of:
 1. Odoreu
 2. Berindan
 3. Cucu
 4. Martinesti
 5. Vinatoresti
20. The commune of Paulesti,
with the villages of:
 1. Ruseni
 2. Amati
 3. Ambud
 4. Hrip
 5. Paulesti
 6. Petin
21. The commune of Petresti,
with the villages of:
 1. Petresti
 2. Dindestiu Mic
22. The commune of Pir,
with the villages of:
 1. Pir
 2. Piru Nou
23. The commune of Piscolt,
with the villages of:
 1. Piscolt
 2. Resighea
 3. Scarisoara Noua
24. The commune of Sanislau,
with the villages of:
 1. Sanislau
 2. Berea
 3. Ciumesti
 4. Horea
 5. Marna Noua
 6. Viisoara
25. The municipality of Satu Mare*

* It is not possible to travel in these cities with permits issued on the basis of the Agreement on Minor Border Traffic.

26. Satmarel, a component locality of the municipality of Satu Mare
27. The commune of Terebesti, with the villages of:
 1. Terebesti
 2. Aliza
 3. Gelu
 4. Piscari
28. The commune of Tiream, with the villages of:
 1. Tiream
 2. Portita
 3. Vezendiu
29. The commune of Turulung, with the villages of:
 1. Turulung
 2. Draguseni
 3. Turulung-Vii
30. The commune of Urziceni, with the villages of:
 1. Urziceni
 2. Urziceni-Padure
31. The commune of Vetis, with the villages of:
 1. Vetis
 2. Decebal
 3. Oar
32. The commune of Viile Satu Mare, with the village of:
 1. Cionchesti

B. On the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic

- Csongrad County
 1. The city of Szeged
 2. The city of Mako
- The district of Szeged
 1. Dezsk
 2. Kuberkhaza
 3. Roszke
 4. Tiszasziget
 5. Ujszentivan
- The district of Mako
 1. Ambrozfalva
 2. Apatfalva
 3. Csanadalberti
 4. Csanadpalota
 5. Ferencszallas
 6. Foldeak
 7. Kiszombor
 8. Klarafalva
 9. Kovegy
 10. Magyarcsanad
 11. Maroslele
 12. Nagyer
 13. Nagylak
 14. Ofoldeak
 15. Pitvaros
- The environs of the city of Mako
 1. Kiralyhegyes
- Bekes County
 1. The city of Bekes
 2. The city of Bekescsaba
 3. The city of Gyula
- The district of Oroshaza
 1. Bekessamson
 2. Totkomlos
- The district of Mezokovacshaza
 1. Almaskamaras
 2. Battonya
 3. Dombegyhaz
 4. Dombiratos
 5. Kaszaper
 6. Kevermes
 7. Kisdombegyhaz
 8. Kunagota
 9. Magyarbanhegyes
 10. Magyardombegyhaz
 11. Medgyesegyhaza
 12. Mezohegyes
 13. Mezokovacshaza
 14. Nagybanhegyes
 15. Nagykamaras
 16. Pusztatottlaka
 17. Vegegyhaza
- The district of Gyula
 1. Doboz
 2. Elek
 3. Geszt
 4. Ketegyhaza
 5. Kotegyan
 6. Lokoshaza
 7. Mezogyan
 8. Mehkerek

9. Sarkad
 10. Sarkadkeresztur
 11. Szabadkigyos
 12. Ujkigyos
 13. Ujszalonta
 The district of Szeghalom
 1. Biharugra
 2. Korosnagyharsany
 3. Korosujfalu
 4. Okany
 5. Veszto
 6. Zsadan
 The environs of the city of Bekes
 1. Tarhos
 The environs of the city of
 Bekescsaba
 1. Gerla
 2. Telekgerendas

 Hajdu-Bihar County
 The district of Berettyoujfala
 1. Artand
 2. Bedo
 3. Berekboszormeny
 4. Berettyoujfalu
 5. Biharkeresztes
 6. Bojt
 7. Furta
 8. Gaborjan
 9. Hencida
 10. Komadi
 11. Korosszakal
 12. Korosszegapati
 13. Magyarhomorog
 14. Mezopeterd
 15. Mezosas
 16. Magykereki
 17. Szentpeterszeg
 18. Told
 19. Ujiraz
 20. Vancsed
 21. Vekerd
 22. Zsaka
 The district of Derecske
 1. Esztar
 2. Hajdubagos
 3. Hosszupalyi
 4. Kismarja
 5. Kokad

6. Konyar
 7. Letavertes
 8. Monostorpalyi
 9. Pocsaj
 The district of Debrecen
 1. Almosd
 2. Bagamer
 3. Fulop
 4. Hajdusamson
 5. Nyiracsad
 6. Nyiradony
 7. Nyirabrany
 8. Nyirmartonfalva
 9. Ujleta
 10. Vamospercs

 Szabolcs-Szatmar County
 1. The city of Mateszalka
 2. The city of Nyirbator
 The district of Nyirbator
 1. Batorliget
 2. Encsencs
 3. Nyirbeltek
 4. Nyirbogat
 5. Nyircsaszi
 6. Nyirderzs
 7. Nyirgelse
 8. Nyirgyulaj
 9. Nyirlugos
 10. Nyirmihalydi
 11. Nyirpilis
 12. Omboly
 13. Peneszlek
 14. Piricse
 15. Terem
 The district of Mateszalka
 1. Csenger
 2. Csengersima
 3. Csengerujfalu
 4. Fabianhaza
 5. Fulposdaroc
 6. Geberjen
 7. Gyortelek
 8. Hodasz
 9. Kantorjanosi
 10. Komloddalfalu
 11. Merk
 12. Nagyecsad
 13. Nagygec

14. Nyirmeggyes
15. Nyirkata
16. Okoritofulpos
17. Patyod
18. Porcsalma
19. Rapolt
20. Szamosangyalos
21. Szamosbecs
22. Szamostatarfalva
23. Tiborszallas
24. Tyukod
25. Ura
26. Vallaj

The district of Fehergyarmat

1. Botpalad
2. Cegenydanyad
3. Csaholc
4. Csaszlo
5. Csegold
6. Darno
7. Fehergyarmat
8. Fulesd
9. Gacsaly
10. Garbolc
11. Gyugye
12. Hermanszeg
13. Jankmajtis
14. Kishodos
15. Kisnameny
16. Kispalad
17. Kisszekeres

18. Kolcse
19. Komoro
20. Magosliget
21. Mand
22. Mehtelek
23. Milota
24. Nagyhodos
25. Nagyszekeres
26. Nemesborzova
27. Penyige
28. Rozsaly
29. Sonkad
30. Szamossalyi
31. Szamosujlak
32. Tiszabecs
33. Tiszacsecse
34. Tiszakorod
35. Tisztaberek
36. Tunyogmatolcs
37. Turistvandi
38. Turricse
39. Uszka
40. Vamosoroszi
41. Zajta
42. Zsarolyan

The environs of the city of Mateszalka

1. Kocsord
2. Nyircsaholy

The environs of the city of Nyirbator

1. Nyirvasvari

II. The new localities that will be founded in the minor border traffic zone will be included in the present appendix on the basis of a separate agreement.

The changes occurring as a result of administrative and organizational measures in the minor border traffic zone on the territory of the two contracting parties will be communicated, mutually, through diplomatic channels.

12105

CSO: 2700

BULGARIA

ORIGIN, PROBLEM OF MOSLEM BULGARIANS EXAMINED

Sofia FILOSOFSKA MISUL in Bulgarian No 7, 1977 pp 73-79

[Article by Filip Churenev: "The National Consolidation of the Bulgarians in Rhodope"]

[Text] The conversion to Islam of a segment of the Bulgarian people during the Turkish slavery is an unquestionable historical fact and an age-old drama. Islamization was rather the form, while the content of the process was the de-Bulgarizing, the assimilation of Islamized Bulgarians by the Turkish ethnic community. In this sense the imposition and establishment of Islam over part of the Bulgarian population was dictated by non-religious (ethnic, political, strategic, and so on) requirements. The purpose of the assimilator was not only for Islam (replacing the Christian religion) to meet the religious needs of this Bulgarian population but the objective implementation of the non-religious objective: The merger of Islamized Bulgarians within the Turkish ethnic community.

Realistically considered, Islam in the Rhodope made deep inroads into the mind, behavior, and way of life of the Islamized Bulgarians, dulling in some of them the feeling of their Bulgarian national origin and affiliation, and, to a certain extent, alienating them from the Bulgarian people. Despite this, however, Islam was unable to link them ethnically with the Turks, even though it developed among some of them a specific "Bulgarian Mohammedan" complex whose adverse consequences are felt in some of the so-called Bulgarian Mohammedan settlements to this day. Naturally, the national alienation of some of the Islamized Bulgarians was the result not only of socio-historical or, more specifically, religious, but mostly of socioeconomic, psychological, and political factors, conditions, and reasons.

On the one hand, following this religious conversion, a disturbance and a national lack of determination developed in the spirituality of the generally speaking forcibly converted Bulgarians in the Rhodope while, on the other, their yesterday's relatives, compatriots, and co-religionists, who had avoided Islamization yet had remained to live in the mountains, began also to withdraw from the converts. It was on this basis that the isolation, alienation, and separation of the Islamized population began. This was the origin of the establishment and development of the process of a split between

faith and nationality. Unquestionably, such alienating trends were reciprocated between the Islamized and non-Islamized Bulgarians. The extent of this reciprocal conflict and alienation may be judged by their objective manifestations in history. All in all, in the 400 years of relations between the two religious groups of the Bulgarian population in the Rhodope the calm and peaceful coexistence between them prevailed. It was the characteristic, dominating, and typical feature.

Following their conversion, however, the Islamized Bulgarians felt and realized that their newly acquired Islamic religion was affecting their nationality as well. They were constantly reminded of this by the Turks and the Bulgarian Moslem clergy and leaders. Torn between religion and nationality, the Islamized Bulgarians became confused, alienated, and drawn within their religion. Even though Islam was a new religion to them, by the virtue of circumstances they were forced to accept it, for in the middle ages¹ it was something they needed.

Before the religious conversion of the Rhodope Bulgarians to Islam, their ideological and national unity was provided by the Christian religion. At that time the Christian religion to the Bulgarians was an attribute of being a Bulgarian and as such it was inevitably linked with their Bulgarian national affiliation, playing a great role in the awareness, behavior, way of life, and relations among people. Following the conversion Islam assumed all these functions introducing a certain specific nature which should be taken into consideration. Islamization is a double process. On the one hand, it is a powerful strike against Christianity with a view to its liquidation; on the other, it meets the intensive promotion of Islam and of Arab and Turkish names with a view to turning the Islamized Bulgarians into Turks.

The new religion (Islam) developed the thought of the alienation of Bulgarians from what was Bulgarian: They were not Turks like the Turks yet they were separated from the Bulgarians. This divided mentality led to isolationism. The thought of becoming alienated from what was Bulgarian was introduced into the minds of the Islamized Bulgarians even though objectively their nationality, language, and way of life remained Bulgarian. Islam alienated and separated the Islamized Bulgarians from both the Bulgarian and the Turkish nationalities. It integrated the national feeling and, for a while, performed the function of nationality. Yesterday's brothers, compatriots, and co-religionists--the non-Islamized Bulgarians--also let it be understood that having accepted Islam the Islamized people have broken with the Bulgarians. This was confirmed through the concept of "turning Turk." That is why the chronicles by Metodi Draginov,² along with all other documents of the epoch speak of "turning Turk," rather than "Islamizing."

In the course of Islamization³ Islam becomes linked with the conquerors--the Turks--and in this sense it also performs the ethnic (pro-Turkish) function of separating Islamized from non-Islamized Bulgarians. In this sense, in the case of the Islamized Bulgarians, Islam performed both their religious

and an ideological and national-alienating role and function. In our view, the assimilation function is the most important among the three--religious, political, and assimilational.

The non-Islamized Bulgarians also paid a price for the limited outlook and mentality prevailing in the middle ages of the triumph and priority of religion over nationality. That is why to them the Christian faith was Bulgarian while the Moslem faith was Turkish. All this is reflected in a number of historical documents, chronicles, songs, and legends.

Following the conversion the Turkish assimilators always promoted the idea in the minds of the Islamized Bulgarians that with the adoption of Islam they automatically break with their Bulgarian origin, are cleansed and become Moslems, Turks, as was believed then. In this case we must not forget that in the ultimate empire (before the beginning of the 20th century) there was no official division of the Moslem population by nationality. There were no Turks, Arabs, Kurds, Albanians, Bosnians, or Pomaks. They were all considered Moslems, i.e., Turks.

For some 400 years, with methodical consistency and fanatic persistence the clergy and Turkish authorities persecuted any Bulgarian aspect in the Islamized Bulgarians, promoting among them Islam and Arab-Turkish names, and confusing their feelings of national affiliation. This way the purpose of the religious integration of some of the Bulgarians with the Turks was also to achieve national integration. What was national, Bulgarian, was clothed in Moslem "garb," presenting the form--religion, name, or religious clothing--as its content. "The close interweaving of the religious with the national, and of the religious with the ethnic, led to the replacement of the national self-awareness with the religious self-awareness."⁴

As Moslems, the Islamized Bulgarians were officially considered members of the ruling Turkish nationality under the conditions of the Ottoman empire. In fact, however, they had remained the Raya and, more specifically, not Christian but Mohammedan Raya. Naturally, in the course of time, some Islamized Bulgarians such as the famous Rupchovs and Akhuchelebi military commanders, Salikh Aga, the Karakhodzhovs, Agushevs, and others, were able to rise socioeconomically and politically over and at the expense of their Moslem and Christian fellow peasants. These military and political leaders promoted, both objectively and subjectively, a pro-Turkish, anti-Bulgarian, de-nationalizing policy toward the Bulgarian population in the Rhodope among both faiths, ruled over the lives and properties of the Rhodope people, hindered the socioeconomic, political, and cultural development in the Rhodope, and played a clearly reactionary and anti-Bulgarian role.

History has given us a number of indicative criteria of the extent of the age-old Islamization and Ottomanization of some Bulgarians in the Rhodope. We are discussing the "behavior" and participation of Islamized Bulgarians in the fateful Bulgarian historical events--the April 1876 uprising, the Russian-Turkish war of liberation (1877-1878) and the Senkleri uprising in

the Rhodope (1878). At the time of these events important to the Bulgarian people, when the "Bulgarian problem" assumed the prime importance and a stand was taken by many countries, politicians, and scientists, Midhad Pasha made his statement to the effect that "...The Bulgarians who are the subject of such great interest number over one million Moslems. This number does not include Tatars or Cherkez. These Moslems did not come from Asia to settle in Bulgaria, as is ubiquitously believed. They are the descendents of Bulgarians converted to Islam at the time of the conquest and in subsequent years. They are children of that same country, that same race, and that same branch. Some of them speak no language other than Bulgarian."⁵

It is of interest to recall that Midhad Pasha was the governor of the Danube Vilaet at that time (1876-1878). Subsequently, he was twice the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, the ideologue of the developing Turkish bourgeoisie, and one of the best educated people in the empire. His statement proves the existence of an Islamic problem among the Bulgarians in the Rhodope. In this statement Midhad Pasha was forced unequivocally to acknowledge the Bulgarian national origin of the Bulgarians Islamized during the period of slavery: "...Among them (Moslems in Bulgaria--the author) some speak no language other than Bulgarian."

Despite the fact that the High Porte and the Moslem clergy fanned to its extreme religious Islamic fanaticism in the empire and directed it against the Christian element, the tremendous majority of Islamized Bulgarians did not support the Turkish cause and did not become fratricides, as confirmed by a number of historical proofs. Consequently, the peak historical period of 1876-1878 is an objective criterion of the extent of the Islamization and Turkification of Islamized Bulgarians. The majority among them did not support the Turkish cause for their awareness and feeling of a blood relation with the mutinied Bulgarians turned out to be stronger than their Islamic faith. That is why, in our view Islamization, which was not an objective but a means for turning Bulgarians into Turks, after three centuries of its promotion reached only a certain level which, however, did not convert into Ottomanization, as confirmed by the fact that during those events as well most of the Islamized Bulgarians did not behave like Turks.

Subsequently, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie displayed national and political blindness and, through its overall conflicting policy toward Islam and Islamized Bulgarians in the Rhodope confirmed and complicated the so-called Bulgarian Mohammedan problem. The class-exploiting nature of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie was the basis for its social and religious discriminatory policy toward "pomak non-believers." Relying on the richer strata among that population and on the Moslem clergy in the Rhodope, the bourgeoisie submitted that population to hunger, ignorance, and mass (nearly 100 percent) religious observance reaching the level of fanaticism. Yet, we know that man looks at the heavens when he is receiving almost nothing on earth (Heinrich Heine).

Consequently, the roots of Mohammedan fanaticism are the result not of any inner inclination toward religion on the part of Islamized Bulgarians but are, above all, socio-psychological. They are social to the extent to which

the bourgeoisie separated the Islamized Bulgarians from the economic, political, and cultural development of the country, deliberately condemning them to hunger and poverty. They are also psychological to the extent to which Bulgarians of Moslem faith lived in constant fear of a new conversion to Christianity as the result of which, through their intensified faith, they sought to counter the offensive of Christianity and the bourgeois policy in pre-socialist Bulgaria. Age-old misery and want, age-old suffering, religious conversion during the epoch of slavery, and subsequent forced conversion to Christianity confused and broke the spirituality of Islamized Bulgarians, developing their particular character, patience, resignation, extreme caution and, to a certain extent, prejudice.

It was clear to the Bulgarian Communist Party that the Bulgarian Mohammedan problem was, above all, of social origin. That is why, following the 9 September 1944 victory of the socialist revolution, it set as its objective the elimination, above all, of the social roots of Islam in the Rhodope along with the age-old isolation and separation of Islamized Bulgarians, to heal the wounds and national traumas in their spirituality, to eliminate the division traced by the Turkish feudals, intensified by the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, to emancipate the Bulgarian national awareness in them, dulled and concealed in the course of centuries, and to accelerate their joining of the Bulgarian socialist nation.

As the main subjective factor in the development of society under socialist conditions, the BCP and the socialist state are continuing their tremendous constructive efforts to surmount the legendary backwardness of the Rhodope--known in the past as Siberia and Diarbekir. The mountain was reborn and is making its population confident in its future. Long lied to in the past, the Islamized Bulgarians began to feel that it was precisely socialist Bulgaria that was their real mother-homeland rather than their stepmother as it was under bourgeois Bulgaria.

The huge capital investments in the Rhodope are gradually equalizing the condition of this previously most backward area with the other parts of the country. The accelerated industrial development of the Rhodope led to a rapid increase in the strength of the working class among the Islamized Bulgarians. The victory of socialism in Bulgaria radically changed the socio-class structure of the entire population along with the entire material and spiritual life of the Rhodope people. Over 95 percent of the housing facilities were renovated. All settlements were electrified and supplied with running water. A number of sports facilities, houses of culture, health and service institutions, and schools were built. The old Islamic way of life, traditions, and mentality are jarringly conflicting with the objective trends and requirements of the new life.

The building of the powerful production forces of the developed socialist society will lead to the total surmounting of religious, living, and psychological disparities among the Bulgarian mountain population. The great changes in the way of life of the Rhodope people are continuing to make great changes in their awareness, behavior, and way of life. A life based on

religion is a life based on imperfection (Marx). The new life leads to the reassessment of traditional values among the Rhodope people. The Islamized Bulgarians or, more accurately, their descendents no longer need the illusory heaven in the sky. They are building it here, on earth, with their own hands. Participating ever more actively in the building of socialism and in social labor, they are changing their lives and themselves, for "people who develop their material production and material contacts also change, along with them, their reality, their thinking, and the results of their thoughts."⁶

The cultural revolution in the Rhodope is multi-dimensional. In the course of its extensive development the dialectic rejection of the old and the development of the new way of life of the Rhodope people become apparent. Dialectics rejects the religious, conservative, and alien aspects while retaining Bulgarian and progressive ones. To a certain extent the material and spiritual aspects of life are a reflection of the extent and dimensions of the material and spiritual culture of society. However, in the Rhodope Islam has retained its strong positions in life and the social mentality. Whereas it has already been "expelled" in the realm of social relations and the collectives, and in the social system of rituals and ceremonies, it clings adamantly and reproduces itself in family relations, holidays, and traditions. It is precisely for this reason that the new stage in the course of the cultural revolution in the Rhodope requires a more active interference in the way of life and in "expelling" Islam from the realm of family relations.

Along with economic successes, a new, socialist Bulgarian national awareness, and communist outlook, morality, and behavior are shaping up in the Rhodope. We must emphasize, however, that the struggle for atheism in the Rhodope, unlike the one waged in the remaining part of the country, is far more difficult, contradictory, and lengthy. The particular nature of the faith of Islamized Bulgarians calls for a particular type of atheistic influence. The struggle for atheism in the Rhodope and for molding a new awareness and way of life alien to religious and national-hostile trends, is complex, for its purpose is not only to liberate the mind, behavior, and life of Islamized Bulgarians from Islamic encrustations, but to implement a number of other tasks as well. The struggle against Islamic fanaticism in the Rhodope and its derived tendency of alienation from what is Bulgarian is not a subjective requirement but an objective form of the class and ideological struggle, and a reflection of the objective historical law of the consolidation of Islamized Bulgarians within the Bulgarian socialist nation. The atheistic struggle in the Rhodope both presumes and encompasses the problem of breaking down the socio-psychological complex in the minds, behavior, and way of life of a certain segment of the Bulgarian population and is interwoven with the problem of their class-party, patriotic, and internationalist education. A characteristic feature of the struggle for atheism in the Rhodope is that not only is it being deployed in the struggle against Islam but is also linked with the struggle for Bulgarian nationhood, and for the development of a new awareness, way of life, customs, and traditions. This presumes their cleansing from accumulated Islamic-Turkish influence.

Generally speaking, atheistic education and the development of a national awareness of the Bulgarian Islamic population in the Rhodope parallel the building of the new life. To a certain extent, however, atheistic education presumes and accelerates a process of national awareness, even though these two aspects of the cultural revolution in the Rhodope are interlinked and inter-dependent. In this connection let us note that introducing total clarity in the mind concerning the Bulgarian national origin and affiliation of a certain share of the Bulgarian Rhodope population professing Islam presumes and requires as a preliminary and necessary prerequisite for this population to become atheistic.

We know that the Islamization of the Bulgarians in the Rhodope in the period of Turkish slavery led to the appearance of false ideas concerning nationality, religion, nation, and national affiliation and, to a certain extent, of a tendency of national alienation from Bulgarian life. It is precisely for this reason that we find among some Moslem Bulgarians "a backward patriotic awareness" which, under socialism, however, is of a "residual" and "partial" nature.

The surmounting of the backward patriotic awareness among some of the Bulgarian population in the Rhodope became possible and is being achieved only and exclusively under socialist conditions in our country, by radically changing the socioeconomic relations, on the one hand, and, on the other, steadily improving the dialectical ties within the system of atheistic and patriotic education. Consequently, the particular nature of atheistic activities in the Rhodope calls for a constant and concentrated influence in all realms of sociopolitical life and all components of the awareness, behavior, and way of life of Bulgarians who profess Islam.

Today we judge of the state of the faith of the Rhodope Bulgarians who converted to Islam during the period of Turkish slavery on the basis of the results of a sociological survey of Smolyan Okrug population's faith and atheism, conducted in 1973. "Among the adults in the okrug," K. Krustev writes, "46.01 percent are religious; 53.9 percent are irreligious, i.e., they have become freed from the influence of religion or were never religious, while 0.89 percent failed to answer. This quantitative analysis leads to two conclusions. First, that in 1973 the number of non-believers in the okrug was higher than of the believers. Second, the study made by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy in 1962 showed that believers in Smolyan Okrug were approximately 60 percent while declining to 46.01 percent in 1973. This leads to the conclusion that a trend toward a systematic decline in the number of citizens who support religion is being manifested in the okrug."⁷

We believe that the situation concerning faith and atheism of Bulgarians of Moslem faith is similar in the other okrugs--Kurdzhali, Blagoevgrad, and Pazardzhik. These data confirm the Marxist-Leninist theory of the natural surmounting of religion under the conditions of a socialist society, and the determining role of social life in terms of social awareness. They show a natural trend toward the elimination of socio-class and socio-psychological

roots of all religions as the result of the abolishment of the old exploiting society. All this indicates that the atheistic education of Bulgarians of Moslem faith is a major aspect of subjective ideological work. The uncompromising struggle against Islam and its adverse consequences to some Rhodope Bulgarians is an important task at the present stage and a necessary prerequisite for their consolidation within the Bulgarian socialist nation and more active inclusion in building a developed socialist society.

FOOTNOTES

1. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Za Religiyata" [On Religion], Sofia, 1957, pp 94-95.
2. See P. Petrov, "Po Sledite na Nasiliето" [On the Traces of Violence], Sofia, 1972, pp 256-258.
3. Ibid.
4. VOPROSY NAUCHNOGO ATEIZMA, No 12, Moscow, 1972, p 83.
5. Midhad Pasha. "Turkey, It's Past, Present, and Future." LA REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE DE LA FRANCE ET DE L'ETRANGER, No 49, 8 June 1878.
6. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Such." [Works], Vol III, p 27.
7. K. Krustev, "The Situation With Religiousness in Smolyan Okrug," ATEISTICHNA TRIBUNA, No 4, 1974, p 49.

5003

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT LEADER VISITS BULGARIA

Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 14 Oct 77 AU

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)--"When I hear President Carter or other government officials speak out in defence of human rights I ask myself whether there could exist greater hypocrisy than this," the leader of the American Indian Movement, Mr Russel Means, emphasizes in an interview given to the Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT daily.

Mr Means, who was on a visit to Bulgaria as head of a delegation of this movement, also emphasizes: "At present in the USA the majority of red Indians live in reservations which we call concentration camps. The average annual income of an Indian family is half that of the official level of poverty in the country. Unemployment ranges from 20 to 75 per-cent. The life expectancy of the American Indian is 44 years."

He also says that irrespective of the change of the methods, the inhuman, racist character of the policy of the official administration towards the Indians has not changed. At present in the USA they no longer hunt the Indians as wild beasts but simply sterilize the Indian women and take away the children from the Indian families.

The government and the monopolies are making still more sinister plans with respect to the Indians, Mr Russell Means notes. According to him they have worked out secret plans for their complete annihilation so that they may unhindered make use of the still considerable natural wealth in the reservations.

CSO: 2020

BULGARIA

SOFIA SITE OF ECUMENICAL EUROPEAN CHURCH CONFERENCE

Theme, Communique

Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 8 Oct 77 LD

[Text] Sofia, October 8 (BTA)--Unity and cooperation of the European churches was the theme of the Consultation of the Conference of the European Churches, held here October 3 through 8 at the invitation of the Bulgarian Patriarch Maxim and the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. Delegates and observers of 40 churches from 18 European states, two participants from the U.S., representatives of 8 international church organizations and of the Roman Catholic church attended the consultation.

Discussing the problems of the ecumenical movement the participants in the consultation, exceeding 100 in number, studied the different ways and made a series of important recommendations, which could unite the churches into a real and all-embracing ecumenic community.

A communique was issued on the work of the consultation in which it was pointed out that the results of this conference will be spread among the European churches for study and realization. Recommended was exchange of objective church information, establishment of new contacts, deepening of the work between the churches for mutual peace-making and further implementation of the Helsinki final act in its integrity.

"The Sofia consultation of the European churches worked in a true ecumenical atmosphere of unity and cooperation. The consultation made a contribution to the illumination of the problems linked with ecumenism and unity of churches and contributed to consolidation of ecumenical interrelations and mutual trust," the communique says.

Remarks by Participants

Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 8 Oct 77 AU

[Text] Sofia, October 8 (BTA)--"We are deeply confident that the most important issue of our time is the preservation of peace and that is why our main target is to overcome all obstacles along the road of preservation of peace," said Professor Ziegrist, president of the Union of Protestant Churches in Switzerland and chairman of the Consultation of the Conference of the European churches held in Sofia.

He spoke at a news conference here today before the leaders and responsible executives of the Conference of the European Churches in connection with the end of the consultation. Professor Ziegrist stressed that the Sofia consultation, whose final goal was to assist cooperation among the European churches, proceeded in this spirit.

Dr Glen William, secretary general of the conference of the European churches, also underlined the necessity of establishing lasting peace in Europe and the world. He pointed out that the conference of the European churches has followed with great interest the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation. It is the first international ecumenical organization, which three months after the signing of the final act called a conference on the role of the churches for its implementation. The same organization convened a conference on the role and significance of the Helsinki conference in the other parts of the world.

Dr William said that in connection with the Belgrade conference the conference of the European churches has prepared a comprehensive memorandum and in a year's time is to arrange another meeting, at which the achievements between the Helsinki and the Belgrade conferences will be discussed. "No doubt, we will continue to work on the issues of peace in the coming years," said he.

Dr Glen William highly assessed the work of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in the conference of the European churches, and especially its contribution to the present consultation.

He stressed as particularly positive the fact that the Bulgarian Orthodox Church had acquainted the participants in the consultation with the life of the Bulgarian church. "We visited a number of parishes, the theological academy, took part in the religious services of other faiths, saw films and received literature which made us familiar in detail with the life of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. It showed us that in its life it is quite normal to maintain ecumenical contacts in the country itself, which is not always an easy thing," underlined the head of the conference of the European churches.

All participants in the news conference noted the achieved positive results in the work of the Sofia consultation and stressed that it will be a new contribution to the further cooperation between the churches of Europe in the interest of peace on the continent and in the world.

CSO: 2020

BULGARIA

BULGARIA EXPANDS ECONOMIC TIES WITH ARAB COUNTRIES

Sofia BTA in English 1437 GMT 7 Oct 77 AU

[Text] Sofia, October 7 (BTA)--In 1976 foreign trade between Bulgaria and the Arab countries amounted to more than 480,000,000 foreign currency leva. During the first eight months of this year Bulgaro-Arab trade exceeded 302,000,000 foreign currency leva.

Bulgaria supplies these countries mainly with industrial goods: machines, equipment, complete plants, textile, chemicals, fertilizers, medicines, food products. From the developing countries the Bulgarian foreign trade enterprises purchase leathers, cotton, raw rubber, citrus fruits, cocoa, textile, ferrous ore.

The major part of the trade (87 percent) is effected with Libya, Iraq, the Arab Republic of Egypt, Algeria and Syria, these countries make up 88.6 percent of the export and 82.2 percent of the import of Bulgaria to and from the Arab countries.

Bulgarian specialists help to build various industrial projects, airports, hotels, sports complexes, irrigation systems, schools, etc., in the Arab world. Last year alone 2,136 people worked there. In recent years intensive work has also been done on carrying through industrial cooperation under the form of specialization and joint production with the Arab countries. There are good possibilities ahead in the joint production of hoist and transport farm and metal-cutting machinery.

The Arab business circles are of the opinion that trade with Bulgaria has made a great headway in recent years. Of course, there are still further unexhausted possibilities for still fuller development of trade and economic ties. A fresh contribution to this end is the cooperation agreement between the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the General Union of Chambers of Trade, Industry and Agriculture of the Arab Countries (with head office in Beirut), which was signed here today. In fulfillment of the document an Arab-Bulgarian Joint Chamber of Commerce was set up (?today).

It will promote business circles in Bulgaria and in the Arab countries in developing their trade and economic cooperation on the basis of respecting mutual interests. An Arab section with the Bulgarian chamber and a Bulgarian section to the general union have been founded respectively.

The chamber's main functions include the ensuring of information on the import and export possibilities in the different countries, helping the firms and enterprises in the search for partners and representatives, promoting the participations in international fairs and exhibitions to be held in these countries. The chamber will encourage and arrange exchange visits of delegations, will help to sign trade agreements, to develop tourism and to exchange publications.

CSO: 2020

BULGARIA

CRITICISM OF USSR PSYCHIATRY LABELLED

Sofia BTA in English 1445 GMT 10 Oct 77 AU

[Text] Sofia, October 10 (BTA)--The Bulgarian psychiatrists Prof Ivan Temkov and Prof Kosta Zamov, describe the attempts made at the Sixth World Congress of Psychiatry at condemning the Soviet psychiatry as anti-humane political provocations.

In an extensive interview for the RABOTNICHESKO DELO, the two professors, members of the Bulgarian delegation to the congress, make the public familiar with the so-called "moral and ethical problem" in psychiatrics, which has been noisily raised and which has been imposed on the participants in the congress and on the public opinion in a tendentious and revolting manner.

They express regret that the hosts of the congress allowed the policy of anti-Sovietism and confrontation [to] replace the scientific debate and the free exchange of thoughts. "It was exactly the moral and ethical subject, that was used as a promoter of a policy hostile to international understanding and cooperation" the interviewers insist.

They go on to tell about the provocational anti-Soviet resolution submitted to the General Assembly of the congress and about the non-democratic principle of voting that was employed--the number of votes each state has a right to being proportional to the membership fee paid out, thus for instance the United States had the right to 30 votes, while Bulgaria to 2.

The Bulgarian representative to the congress has expressed before the General Assembly, Bulgarian psychiatrists' grave concern with the real danger for the World Psychiatry Association to become an instrument of political dealings aimed against cooperation and understanding between psychiatrists from various quarters of the earth and from countries with different social and political order. Mentioning the longtime close cooperation between Soviet and Bulgarian psychiatry, he has said that the charges against their colleagues from the Soviet Union were absolutely groundless, tendentious and ill-meaning.

"We must point out that the entire Bulgarian medical public and particularly the Bulgarian psychiatrists, who were otherwise pleased with all the material of the congress, are fully convinced that the forces who are trying to discredit the Soviet psychiatry, were serving to dishonest purposes and were striving in fact to use science for the fanning of anti-Sovietism, said the Bulgarian professors in conclusion.

CSO: 2020

BULGARIA

PROFILE OF NEW PUBLIC HEALTH MINISTER POPIVANOV

Sofia KHIGIENA I ZDRAVEOPAZVANE in Bulgarian No 4, 1977 pp 285-287

[Unattributed report: "Academician Radoy Popivanov, minister of public health"]

[Text] The noted Bulgarian medical scientist and public figure academician Radoy Popivanov has been appointed minister of public health by State Council ukase, dated 20 July 1977.

Academician Radoy Popivanov was born on 9 August 1913 in Pleven, in a progressive Bulgarian family. His father, Petur Popivanov, was arrested, interned, and sentenced by the monarcho-fascist regime for his progressive views and active anti-monarchic and anti-fascist activities. He was a consistent supporter of and fighter for the most progressive ideas of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union. His long personal relations with Doctor Rasho Angelov, the first public health minister in Bulgaria, strengthened the national, deeply democratic, and progressive spirit of the Popivanov family which was deeply reflected in the further upbringing and behavior of Radoy Popivanov since his early years.

Therefore, the new minister of public health was raised from childhood in the revolutionary traditions of our people and in the spirit of the pure and sacred Bulgarian patriotism. From his earliest years he has witnessed the misery of the urban proletariat and the endless wretchedness of the rural poor. It was precisely this that determined his civic views for a lifetime. As a young man he joined the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and has remained the loyal and systematic supporter of its most progressive ideas. He engaged in particularly energetic and fruitful activities as a member of the BZNS in the period of the building of socialism in our country, when fraternal cooperation and interaction in the building of new, modern, socialist Bulgaria was established between the BCP and BZNS.

In his labor activities academician Radoy Popivanov covered the long distance from section physician to regular member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. He graduated in medicine at the Medical Faculty in Sofia in 1939. Immediately after that he was appointed sector physician in Bulgarene Village, Svishtov

Okoliya, where he became a physician liked by the peasants, a zealous supporter of prophylactic medicine, and a health educator.

However, Radoy Popivanov's innate curiosity soon removed him from practical health care activities. In 1942 he was assistant professor of biology at Sofia Medical Faculty. In 1946 he became a specialist in internal diseases. This marked the beginning of adamant and systematic scientific and teaching activities which insured his deserved development as a scientist. He was made docent in 1948 and has been biology professor since 1953. In 1947 he was elected member of the academy for his great contributions to biology.

Academician Radoy Popivanov is the close and grateful student, follower, and perpetuator of the school developed by the great Bulgarian and world scientist academician Metodi Popov with whom he worked until the latter's death.

Academician Radoy Popivanov's fruitful scientific work covers over 200 works and publications in the fields of biology, immuno-hematology, anthropology, and parasitology. Of these 140 are of a scientific research nature; ten are monographs and textbooks and 50 are scientific studies and popular science articles. His publications have been cited in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the GDR, France, the FRG, Britain, Japan, the United States, and other countries. His teaching talent is universally acknowledged, bringing him sincere gratitude and respect on the part of students and the Bulgarian medical public.

With his scientific research academician Radoy Popivanov has been one of the pioneers in the development of a new scientific trend in human and general biology--reproduction immuno-genetics. He has achieved considerable success in separating human spermatozoons of different genotypes. He discovered in the spermatozoons antigens inherent in nearly all other organs. He proved the ~~auto~~immunizing action of these antigens, thus indicating one of the mechanisms for the appearance of autoimmunizing diseases (together with Professor V. Vulchanov). He has made a contribution to the modern development of blood transfusion and the prophylactics, diagnosis, and treatment of hemolysis in newborn children through the applied-practical nature of his blood group studies.

Academician Radoy Popivanov's sociopolitical activities have been equally rich, significant, and meaningful as a member of the Fatherland Front and of the BZNS and its supreme organ--the BZNS Administrative Council. He has been a people's representative since 1962 and deputy chairman of the bureau of the guiding committee of the Bulgarian Interparliamentary Group. He is a member of the council of the international or interparliamentary union.

As chairman of the Commission for Labor, Public Health, and Social Welfare of the National Assembly and, since 1976, deputy chairman of the Commission for Social Policy, academician Radoy Popivanov has actively and competently promoted the development of health care. He has made an unquestionable contribution to the passing of the first socialist law on public health which,

prior to being passed by the National Assembly, was extensively discussed and presented by the parliamentary commission whose chairman he was.

In his professional-labor activities as a sector physician, assistant professor, professor, scientific worker, head of department, director of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Central Laboratory, and deputy rector of the Medical Academy, academician Radoy Popivanov has gained tremendous organizational experience within the system of our socialist health care. Subsequently, his work in the socio-political field, as a member of the BZNS and, above all, as an active member of the leading BZNS organs over many years, including its supreme organ--the Administrative Council--as well as a senior parliamentary leader on the national and international levels, enabled him to grow as a highly principled, active, and competent state and political worker--performer, manager, and organizer. His ability to work with people and collectives, and to make able use of the highly skilled and specialized scientific workers, teachers, and practical workers in public health and to promote the useful initiatives of health collectives have offered him extensive opportunities to prove himself as a leader in Bulgarian socialist health care, in executing the health policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Academician Radoy Popivanov has been awarded the following distinctions for his services to science and the country: Kiril i Metodi Order First Class (1962); "Honored Science Leader" (1965); and Order of the Bulgarian People's Republic Second Class (1973).

We wish academician Radoy Popivanov, minister of public health, good health, strength, and energy so that he may give most effectively his extensive possibilities, rich experience, and erudition in his new field in the further development of Bulgarian health care in the spirit of the decisions of the 11th Congress and July Plenum of the BCP, in promoting the preventive principle--the core of socialist health care, the further development of medicine, and the strengthening of the health and upgrading the activeness of tomorrow's citizens of the developed socialist society in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

5003

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

HARD WORKING CONDITIONS OF SOME WOMEN EXPOSED

Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian 2 Sep 77 p 1

[Article by D. Begunov: "Her Majesty Is Weight Lifting!"]

[Text] Swimming in the waters of literature and rocking himself with most tender poems dedicated to his girlfriend, beloved, or mother, a person could very easily be entirely carried away and begin to think that "everything is in order with her majesty the Woman!"

Such a person should be immediately thrown ashore and forced to plunge deeply into life or directly sent to a store.

He would see there the way her majesty moves heavy wooden cases with halva, carries bags with beans and sugar, and pulls down and pushes barrels with olives...

This is all regardless of Council of Ministers' decree dated 23 December 1971 establishing a program for the packaging of consumer goods.

Despite this program aimed at facilitating the work of the endless number of mothers, girlfriends, and beloveds, they continue to drag heavy parcels. In order to be able to understand more or less what we are talking about, let us mention that a most ordinary supermarket employing 15 workers, four of whom on a half-day basis and 12 women daily receives and handles about nine tons of goods.

It is obvious that under such circumstances such women would inevitably develop as weight lifters, even though the international weight lifting federation does not allow the participation of women for any reason.

Yet, a high percentage of these women develop, in addition to muscles, some kind of vocational disease corresponding to such carrying, and very quickly find themselves in hospitals.

It is not necessary to visit all okrugs to see that nearly 40 percent of the sugar, oil, olives, brine cheese, and others are delivered to the stores in bags weighing 50 and 100 kilograms, barrels weighing 50, 70, or 120 kilograms, and drums weighing 120 kilograms!

Her majesty the Bulgarian woman is brave but not in the least in terms of the meaning given to this word by some of the managers of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry whose enterprises are intensifying their pressure with their heavy and cumbersome containers.

Unquestionably, the Bulgarian man is polite. A number of enterprise directors are bearing in mind the female physiology, and an ever larger number of them are turning into designers who adapt to women control panels, levers, and pedals.

Therefore, there is hope!

5003

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

'BTA' OUTLINES 'RUDMETAL' FOREIGN TRADE EXPORTS PICTURE

Sofia BTA in English 0830 GMT 13 Oct 77 AU

[Text] Sofia, October 13 (BTA)--At this year's Plovdiv Fair the Rudmetal Foreign Trade Organization made a deal with Cuba for exporting big quantities of various metals.

The organization appears in the international market with a rich export programme composed of dozens of types of metal products, including rolled metals. Thanks to Rudmetal, which exports more than 1 million tons of metals and metal products every year, Bulgaria's ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy became known in more than 40 countries of the world.

Half the export of the foreign trade organization goes to the socialist community countries, and 25 percent to developed capitalist countries such as Italy, the FRG, France, Britain, and Belgium. The organization trades with more than 250 capitalist firms. Bulgarian lead is accepted at the London stock-exchange without any quality certificate.

Export to the Arab countries is on the constant increase, as well as to such far away countries as Japan, India and Brazil.

Rudmetal supplies the Yugoslav firms with thick iron sheet, cast iron, coalin, talc, fluorite. Recently the organization has expanded its business ties with this country's southern neighbours--Greece and Turkey. Bulgarian exports to them thick iron sheet, cast iron, lead in blocks, ferrous metals rolled iron, etc.

The output of the ferrous metallurgy makes up 70 percent of Rudmetal's total exports, according to the forecast for the development of the Bulgarian ferrous metallurgy up to 1990, the total production of rolled metal will reach 8-9 million tons and the present copper production will be more than doubled.

CSO: 2020

BULGARIA

BULGARIA, LIBYA SIGN PROTOCOL ON DAM CONSTRUCTION IN LIBYA

Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 11 Oct 77 AU

[Text] Sofia, October 11 (BTA)--Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received the Libyan secretary of water resources and dams, Mr 'Umar Sulayman Hammudah, who has been on a visit here for a week now. The prospect of bilateral all-round cooperation in hydro-meliorative construction were looked into. In the spirit of the accords reached so far at a top state level, it was noted that these prospects are particularly favourable.

This found material expression in the protocol signed here tonight. Agreement was reached for Bulgaria to build two dams and several hydroengineering installations along a Libyan river. Bulgaria is to send experts to do survey work and plan other dams in Libya as well.

The two countries have agreed also for Bulgarian experts to start works as advisers at the Libyan Secretariat of Water Resources and dams. Another group of Bulgarian experts will leave for Libya as consultants on the maintenance and repair of dams. Bulgaria will provide also experts for assessing ready designs and projects.

The two sides reached agreement in principle also for the setting of a Bulgarian-Libyan company for the construction of dams in Libya. The signing of a special document concerning this company is forthcoming.

During his stay in this country Mr Hammudah was received also by the chairman of the Bulgarian section of the Bulgarian-Libyan Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation, Mr Grigor Stoichkov, deputy-chairman of the Council of Ministers. He has had a number of business meetings also with his Bulgarian counterpart, Minister Gancho Krustev. Mr Hammudah and the persons who accompany him have also visited some specialized institutes, dams, irrigation systems and hydroengineering installations.

BULGARIA

MACEDONIAN CORRESPONDENT ON RISE IN BULGARIAN OIL PRICES

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 8 Oct 77 Saturday Supplement p 5 AU

[Permanent Correspondent Filip Simonovski report from Sofia]

[Summary] With the higher gasoline prices which came into effect on 1 October, to fill up a car in Bulgaria now costs 21 leva or 7 leva more than before. If one does this three times a month, the cost will be 63 leva. "On the other hand, the average earnings in Bulgaria have not exceeded 140 leva a month; if one now draws a line under all this, it appears that now almost one half of one's monthly earnings will have to be left at the gasoline station.

"Of course, such an expense is too much for anyone's budget, and therefore the major question which one now hears in Sofia is whether the price rise had to be so large." Gasoline in Bulgaria is now among the most expensive in Europe. It is said that a gasoline price increase had been prepared 3 years ago but was not then introduced because of the expected negative consequences. At that time, a two-tier price was introduced: the first 40 liters bought each month were sold at one price, and any amount over this at a double price. This system led to excessive administration work and had to be abandoned.

"Those who have heard the explanation on Sofia television--as usual, the press did not carry a single word on this--have been able to deduce two conclusions: that the state in this specific case has refused to play the role of a milch cow and that it will penalize consumption, which indeed was uneconomical, in this way, with new prices. The state, a Sofia commentator stated, has for a long time been making good the high losses of the petroleum industry, and because these have been higher and higher every year, it is no longer able to do so."

Bulgaria imports about 11 million tons of crude oil a year, almost 95 percent from the Soviet Union. The price of this oil is "one of the small secrets of Bulgarian-Soviet relations." It is paid for with the exports of Bulgarian goods, whose prices are also a mystery. Despite these large imports, there

has always been a feeling of shortage, manifested by kilometers-long lines of cars waiting at gasoline stations every tourist season. This is explained by uneconomical consumption of gasoline. When the coupons system was abolished in the spring, it was said that drivers of official cars poured away petrol to use of excessive coupons they were not supposed to keep. "Of course this is not the whole story, but it is sufficient to see that the basic aim of the present government measure is to rationalize consumption in a way that has always been effective."

Those who have no cars wonder about the effects of the higher prices of oil and gasoline on heating, warm water and electricity. The question is only how much these prices will rise.

CSO: 2800

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PELIKAN MAKES PARIS STATEMENT ON CSSR CENSORSHIP

Paris LE MONDE in French 18 Oct 77 p 7 LD

[Unattributed report: "Statement by Jiri Pelikan"]

[Text] One of the accused in the Prague trials, Jiri Pelikan, former director of Czechoslovak television and former chairman of the Prague Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, who is at present editor in Rome of LISTY, the organ of socialist opposition, told us on his way through Paris:

"It is known that the re-establishment of censorship in Czechoslovakia is preventing a number of writers and journalists from publishing their work in their own country. It is normal for those affected to defend themselves by publishing their work in their own publication PETLICE. This samizdat is doubtlessly available in the West.

"Some of these writings have been reprinted by LISTY under the name or pseudonym of their authors so that they will not be condemned to silence, and in order to inform the public since LISTY is distributed in Czechoslovakia. We do not do so lightheartedly. There is an abnormal situation due to the practices of the present regime. We repeat that we will stop doing this when all those concerned can get their works published in their own country. The texts which we have published are all cultural in character: they have never contained secret information of an economic or military nature.

"It is absurd that at the same time as the Belgrade Conference is being held, human beings are being tried and found guilty of the sole crime of circulating ideas and contributing to the spread of culture, as outlined by the Helsinki accords. I am sure that the governments and their delegates in Belgrade will not ignore this flagrant example of violations of the Helsinki accords, whose implementation they are at present examining."

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

WORK OF NEW CITIZENS COMMITTEES EVALUATED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Sep 77 p 3

[Interview with Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and vice president of the government of the CSR]

[Text] The first 6 months of this year new citizens committees were elected. At public meetings committee officials received a vote of confidence, which attests to the profound importance of the work of these committees as the most broadly based aktivs of the national committees. The editors of RUDE PRAVO asked Comrade Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and vice president of the government of the CSR, to evaluate the initial results of the work of these new citizens committees.

[Question] What are the first items on the agenda of the new citizens committees?

[Answer] First of all, I would like to stress that a favorable groundwork has been laid for the work of the citizens committees. It is also important to note that in planning out their activities they were able to take advantage of a wide range of useful experiences gained during the preceding period. To a certain extent this experience can serve as a yardstick for the evaluation of future programs. This might be best illustrated by one of several examples. Last year in the obec center of Kunstat, okres Blansko, there were seven citizens committees, and it is to their credit that the citizens of Kunstat and annexed obeces put in more than 23,500 hours of work resulting in real accomplishments valued at more than 1 million korunas. Indeed, there are many such towns where this kind of dedicated organizational work has been just as fruitful.

I think that one should also not fail to overlook such questions as the need for collective work both in terms of the fulfillment of all plans and in terms of the internal workings of the citizens committees themselves. In

any event, many of the committees were entirely new organizations, and it often happened that those elected to serve on the committees were new to this kind of work, with one-third of these newcomers being made up of young people. They realize that it is not easy to learn all the rules that govern the activities of these committees, to learn how to deal with the general public in a proper manner, and to provide persuasive public leadership. However, all of this is both necessary and desirable.

I consider these requirements to be one of the ways in which to put into practice the concepts mentioned by Comrade Husak at the 15th congress concerning the need to upgrade the effectiveness of committee work in large cities, in new residential developments and in obec centers. We should admit that everything is not working out as well as we would wish in this area. Although there are a number of reasons for this situation, it is also true that many citizens committees owe a certain debt to society in this respect. Consequently, as we see it, the demonstration of initiative, activism and an intimate awareness of public needs is one of their ongoing and most important missions.

[Question] What are the main principles governing the work of the citizens committees?

[Answer] The government of the CSR has adopted "Principles Governing the Establishment and Functioning of Citizens Committees." The intent of this document is very broadly construed. This is because we must bear in mind that at the present time there are more than 4,600 citizens committees in the CSR with a total staff of nearly 160,000 officials. But at the same time our experience tells us that the most perfect normative guidelines cannot take the place of a creative approach as exercised on the part of the plenary sessions and councils of the national committee.

For instance, in the North Moravia Kraj a commission of the kraj national committee council has been set up for the development of citizens committees. A similar approach has been taken by the councils of the okres national committees in individual okreses of the krajs. This has made a major contribution to the further coordination and standardization of all citizens committee work programs. These are forms of action which I consider to be very important.

Even prior to the elections, throughout the preceding official term of the committees, and during the post-election period as well, it was confirmed once again that the consistent enforcement of the leading role of the party is a critical prerequisite for successful performance and a firm foundation for good administration. Rural and urban ward organizations are engaging in systematic and substantive discussions of all issues that are of concern to the citizens committees. They are introducing new ideas and suggestions into the plans of the committees and undertaking programs that raise the overall quality of their work from year to year.

Effective administration must also take into account the specific kinds of conditions that exist in a given locality. However, the diversity of these conditions cannot be allowed to obscure what is essential and what unites all of these bodies in a common effort, i.e., the effort to serve the public, to accomplish goals with the help of the general public, and to carry out projects that are justified by general social needs.

Let me cite two examples. The town of Uherske Hradiste is served by citizens committee No 27, which began its work by preparing an action plan broken down into individual time periods. It informed the public about the provisions of this action plan and won public support for its implementation. It was helped considerably in this regard by house trustees and block councils. In this way the committee's priorities gradually came to be focused on environmental concerns, for example, landscaping and playground maintenance, but they also did not overlook the organization of cultural and educational activities, the observance of anniversaries, and so on. And the citizenry supported its citizens committee by doing the actual work. So, it is not coincidental that the town as a whole was subsequently successful in achieving positive results in other fields.

In Trutnov, on the other hand, it turned out to be useful to have the number of citizens committees increased so as to coincide with the number of electoral districts. They gradually developed ways by which to maintain direct contacts with the citizenry, and they achieved a balance in the fulfillment of the political-organizational, cultural and educational, and economic sections of their election platforms.

I would especially like to emphasize--and the examples cited above testify to this quite forcefully--that the administration of citizens committees cannot be self-serving, rather must always be goal-oriented. In this connection it is clear that the essential purpose of their activities cannot be expressed by the greater or lesser extent of their workload, but rather, and most importantly, by their firmly stated goals. For example, the promotion of initiative, and this is a key area of activity, does not mean that all that needs to be done is to organize one or two brigades over the course of a 6-months period, rather it means that we must make a constant effort to utilize the resourceful and innovative energies of the people, that their goodwill is not overlooked in the course of pursuing our common undertakings. Similarly, political and educational work has to be guided so as to make sure that its impact is both systematic and efficient.

The election platforms of the National Front are also an important administrative tool. Every official ought to look to these platforms as a source of personal encouragement, and he also ought to look to them as a source of valuable suggestions on how to help bring about the more comprehensive and balanced participation of individuals and groups in public life.

[Question] What is being done to intensify working relations between the citizens committees and the organs and organizations of the National Front?

[Answer] In view of the extensive and intrinsically challenging tasks which face us, we must first of all be mindful of the need for the coordinated and balanced interaction of the individual components involved in this political process. And the National Front plays an indispensable role in this respect. Were it not for the commitment displayed by the organizations coalesced under the National Front, we simply would have no idea what we should do next. Working together with the national committees and their aktivs, these organizations are always mindful of the need to achieve an ethical balance between general social and parochial interests. They share responsibility in deciding on the kinds of suggestions, critical observations and proposals voiced by the people, and they are guided by substantive knowledge of the facts of a given situation in evaluating future tasks.

There is no doubt but that the organizations of the National Front are managing to lay a broad groundwork for the efficient performance of all the activities which have been assigned to the citizens committees.

As I already mentioned, young people make up a full one-third of the members. A similar situation exists with respect to the participation of women in public affairs. We are well aware of the fact that without their help it would be very difficult for us to find out the causes and come up as well with workable solutions to some problems associated with maintaining the flow of supplies to the market, placing children in nurseries and kindergartens, and other matters pertaining to public services. The experiences of women, for whom these issues are in many cases a source of direct concern, are an invaluable aid in this regard.

Thus, I would once again like to point out that it is not only the composition of the citizens committees, but also their extraordinary social role that urgently demands the constant support of the entire National Front. At the same time, this is not merely a question of an official receiving the customary assurance in the handling of citizens' affairs, rather he must also be supported through specific actions--for example, when it comes to brigades, the organization of activities for children, hence, when it comes to fulfilling the responsibilities which such an official assumed at the time of his or her election. In this connection it is very useful to coordinate the action programs of individual organizations with their own election platforms.

There is another question that also should not be overlooked. A characteristic feature of the activities pursued by National Front organizations is that they contribute to the socially desirable fulfillment of the most diverse interests, desires and needs of the general population and to the encouragement of high caliber political-educational work.

[Question] These inherently more challenging goals are undoubtedly giving rise to an effort to adopt new working methods and procedures. What kinds of innovations have been made along these lines that merit our special attention?

[Answer] Working methods are indeed important, but they fulfill their purpose only when they make it possible to do a better job than ever before in achieving prescribed goals. If, for example, we make references to a conceptual and coordinated approach to problem-solving, this is because we want to emphasize the need to consistently base our actions on an analysis of genuine needs and to remember that even those tasks of the greatest magnitude call for meticulous work on the part of the lone individual, whose efforts combine with those of others to make up our common achievements.

This is the reason why taking a methodically correct approach to influencing behavior and attitudes is such an important prerequisite. We want to reach every family, to talk with the citizens on a regular basis, to know their demands and the possibilities as well. In short, to create an atmosphere of good interpersonal relations, trust and understanding everywhere in our housing developments and obec centers.

Experienced committee officials are well aware of the fact that areas where they are not isolated by a false sense of individual privacy, their work is successful. Much the same thing might also be said in the case of public opinion motivation. That is to say, we can always find examples of those who are clearly deserving of praise for their efforts on behalf of cleanliness, orderliness and nice landscaping arrangements. But let us ask ourselves the question--how can we find a good way in which to popularize their good works? Sometimes I think that in our obeces and towns we ought to have a lot more of those successful honor boards which could express praise for unselfish contributions to the common good. It definitely would be worthwhile for everyone to give some thought to how our gratitude could be properly expressed for hard work and dedication.

Paying constant attention to organizational matters is another important feature of our effort in this area. We certainly cannot afford to overlook the need to know how to provide for a proper division of labor, to take into consideration questions of labor efficiency, and to be mindful of the need to prevent the efforts of one group of people from negating the ignorance, carelessness, or indifference of another group of people.

A valuable support for inventive methods consists of both good depth and background in cooperation with local enterprises and plants, and contacts with representatives of city and local national committees. There have been some problems in this area in the past. Top management workers have tended to turn to public officials for assistance only when, so to speak, they had a favor to ask. The systematic and planned development of contact remained on paper only. We are now taking action to rectify these problems. There have also been instances in which national committee representatives have underestimated the need for cooperation with the citizens committees, or the citizens committees have tried to be, so to speak, self-sufficient and not bothered to even ask for the necessary outside assistance. This situation is beginning to change at the present time.

We can cite a large number of instances in which, prior to the opening of national committee plenary sessions, citizens have been afforded many opportunities to express their views on the issues under discussion and to demonstrate their knowledge and understanding of these issues. In this way the adopted measures also attain favorable prerequisites for a successful implementation.

Mutual understanding also facilitates effective cooperation between the representatives of citizens committees and the representatives and workers of the national committees. It is well known that it is precisely this kind of cooperation that can contribute to the fair and objective evaluation of public petitions and criticisms and prevent the filing of justified complaints.

[Question] Can you cite some concrete examples of worthwhile projects that are being successfully initiated by the citizens committees?

[Answer] There are many such examples. I will mention two from the Central Bohemia Kraj. Namely, citizens committee No 26 in Mlada Boleslav has decided to set up volunteer brigades to work on the expansion of local parks. It has also taken an interest in the construction of a childrens' nursery school, and it has decided to increase the scope of its original pledge for 1977--to put in 3,500 volunteer brigade working hours--in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. A characteristic feature of its activities is that it is relying on the assistance of the socialist labor brigades from the local automotive factory. This is the kind of performance record that certainly ought to be studied seriously by citizens committees in other localities.

The citizens committee in the obec of Nepomuk in Pribram Region, which this year was consolidated with the town of Rozmital, is also doing a good job. The road between Nepomuk and Bukova has already been fixed, local streets have been repaired, and they have finished their water main system with service connections to single family homes. At the present time they are making plans to alter public open spaces and to install street lighting. In honor of the 60th October anniversary they have pledged to put in 7,000 volunteer brigade working hours.

These examples show that even in a large town and in a newly consolidated obec it is possible to give wide-ranging encouragement to ambitious public undertakings, which will ultimately result in a contented life for all citizens.

[Question] How can we systematically monitor and evaluate the work of citizens committees?

[Answer] We already have the traditional competitions engaged in by citizens committees. And it should also be remembered that a socialist competition has to be managed and evaluated selectively in accordance with local conditions. For example, they are very well aware of this in the town of Sokolov, where the local city national committee has jurisdiction

over citizens committees in the town's eight wards. The boundaries of these wards were defined so as to coincide with the kinds of localized problems that are peculiar to new housing developments, older neighborhoods, neighborhoods made up primarily of single-family homes, annexed obeces, and so on.

True, the same organizational breakdown cannot be followed everywhere. Nevertheless, the experiences in other places bear out the extent to which it is indeed possible to take advantage of local resourcefulness when it comes to setting standards for the evaluation of the efforts that are invested in such programs.

In some places, of course, these competitions are only a pro forma exercise. Elsewhere, a citizens committee is evaluated in such a competition, but its experiences are not shared with the others. It also happens that the line-up of the ones judged in first places remains practically the same year after year, and yet the comrades concerned do not give any thought as to why it is that their initiative is not imitated by others, so that we could get rid of mediocrity.

Even when it comes to the most perfectly organized competitions we must always bear in mind that the results achieved are not an anonymous accomplishment, that we are duty-bound to set up as models those individuals and collectives which make the greatest contribution. This might even turn out to be one of the ways in which we can succeed everywhere in surpassing current performance standards, as has been mentioned at recent sessions of the party's central committee.

The past performance of the citizens committees and the selection of good people to serve on them in the recent elections constitute an important guarantee that their future performance will be even more successful. They know what their tasks are, they are adopting effective methods and procedures to carry out these tasks, and they know that they can count on the understanding and support of hundreds of thousands of citizens. In the pursuit of their goals they enjoy the support of party organs and of the national committees, and our government too is fully committed to supporting their activities. I am convinced that in carrying out the challenging work that awaits them in the future the citizens committees will not fail to fulfill their mission.

[Question] The editors of RUDE PRAVO thank you for granting this interview.

11813
CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ'S HUSAK, STROUGAL SEND CONDOLENCES ON DEATH OF ARTIST

Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Oct 77 LD

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, has sent a letter to the Czech Ministry of Culture and the Union of Czech Sculptors in which he expressed his deeply felt condolence at the death of Jan Zrzavy, the national artist. Czechoslovak culture, the letter says, lost an outstanding painter whose lifelong work was conspicuously inscribed in the subconscious of our people and who achieved a great response both in our homeland and the world at large. The multifaceted and extensive work of Jan Zrzavy grew from national and folk traditions and the creative understanding of the development of world art in the 20th century. Because of its individuality it has become a lasting, living value of our socialist culture.

Premier Lubomir Strougal has also sent a letter of condolence on the death of Jan Zrzavy, the national artist. According to an announcement of the Czech Ministry of Culture, the Union of Czech Sculptors and the National Gallery in Prague, the state funeral of Jan Zrzavy, the national artist, will take place on Friday, 21 October at 1300 in the House of Artists in Prague.

CSO: 2400

HONECKER ADDRESSES GDR-CSSR FRIENDSHIP RALLY

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1739 GMT 3 Oct 77 DW

[Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, at a GDR-CSSR friendship rally in the Berlin Palace of the Republic--live]

[Text] Dear Comrade Husak, dear Comrade Strougal, dear Czechoslovak comrades and friends, dear Berliners: Right at the beginning of our rally I want to express our happiness that we can greet the party and state delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic headed by the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and CSSR president, our good friend and comrade Gustav Husak. [applause]

Dear Czechoslovak comrades, your visit is a significant event in the development of fraternal relations between our parties, states and peoples. This time it particularly demonstrates, in a spontaneous way, what unites us: it is far more than good-neighborly relations at our common border. We are united by the targets of socialism and peace and by close cooperation in their implementation. We can say with full satisfaction that our fraternal relations have strengthened year by year, stood their test, and have become always more fruitful. [applause]

Together with our people we very highly assess the merits of Comrade Gustav Husak in regard to the development of friendship between our parties, states and peoples. With a view to the future, this friendship opens great and beautiful perspectives. Dear friends and comrades, we have just signed the new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. [prolonged applause]

This is an event of historic significance. This document puts the seal on our fraternal community and our alliance beyond this century. It serves the cause of socialism, the drawing together of our peoples, the welfare of the peoples of our countries, who are getting to know each other more closely. It is also a contribution to strengthening the community of socialist states as a whole. [applause]

Our new treaty recorded the results and experience of almost three decades of excellent cooperation between the SED and the CPCZ, the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. On its basis we shall make still more effective the advantages of socialism to secure a happy life of the working people in the future. This treaty fully accords with the basic interests of social progress and peace. We are certain that, like our treaties with the other fraternal socialist countries, it will lend considerable weight to the alliance of free socialist states and peoples. [applause]

The talks with our Czechoslovak comrades which opened today and the common stipulations already are a step toward filling the new friendship treaty with life. The higher level of our relations is demonstrated by the agreed basic trends of economic and scientific-technical cooperation after 1980. This has been demonstrated by the measures we have envisaged for developing our treaty system and for the intensifying cooperation in other fields. Our people doubtlessly will accept all this with great satisfaction and implement it efficiently.

Dear friends and comrades, soon we will celebrate, together with the Soviet Union, the Great October Socialist Revolution. The fraternal alliance with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the mainstay and foundation of our successes and plans. How convincingly has history borne out Klement Gottwald, the indomitable internationalist, who in 1948 described friendship with the Soviet Union as the crucial condition for having a free state of one's own and building it in accordance with the people's free will. The history of our socialist German Democratic Republic fully confirms this truth.

The victory of the glorious Soviet Army over Hitler fascism opened the way to socialism for our peoples. The revolutionary events of February 1948 in Prague and the establishment of the first German worker-peasant state in October 1949 in Berlin are an expression of the fact that our peoples used their opportunity in the interest of peace and socialism. All that the exploiting classes had set up between our countries to separate them has been eliminated. We have shaped our relations according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the unshakable ties with the Soviet Union. Our peoples got together, and they will live and fight forever as brothers. [applause]

For this the best sons of the German and the Czechoslovak working classes have risked their lives. They were fighting against exploitation, fascism and imperialist war, as well as for peace and social progress. Their legacy has been fulfilled. When our comrades Wilhelm Pieck and Klement Gottwald shook hands in March 1952 at the Werner Seelenbinder Hall rally in Berlin, they were confirming what had been newly molded in the relationship between our two peoples.

Dear comrades, as you know, the economies of the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic are steadily becoming more and more integrated. In accordance with the comprehensive program of socialist economic integration of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, we have stepped up our efforts to expand economic and scientific-technological relations. This stable and dynamic cooperation serves the ever better satisfaction of the working people's material and cultural needs, the most effective solution of common tasks.

How many living examples of this exist in our everyday life! Just think of the (polyfin) cooperation between Boehlen and Zaluzi, of the joint cooperation of workers of our two countries in the setting up of the unloading installation for bulk material at the Rostock overseas port, of the useful division of labor in the manufacture of large crankshafts for ships, and last but not least, of the Tatra streetcar in Berlin and other towns of our republic, which remind all of us of the progress achieved in our cooperation. A total of 180 treaties and agreements on specialization and cooperation form a solid foundation for further consolidating stable relations in the field of research and production. A rapid growth was achieved in trade between the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in 1977 it will exceed the tidy sum of M8 billion and continue to grow.

Just as manifold and fruitfully shaped were the relations between our state organs, between our social organizations in the cultural and scientific fields, in education and in other social spheres. All of us are very familiar with passport-free and visa-free tourist traffic introduced in 1972. Since then over 32 million citizens of both countries have made use of it. Meanwhile these personal meetings have become a matter of course in life on both sides of our border.

Dear Czechoslovak comrades and friends, the citizens of the German Democratic Republic are sincerely gratified at seeing the great achievements of our neighboring country in building the advanced socialist society. Led by its Marxist-Leninist party, by its Central Committee headed by the meritorious and highly respected functionary of the Czechoslovak and international workers movement, our friend and comrade Gustav Husak, the Czechoslovak working people are performing impressive achievements in shaping the socialist society. [prolonged applause] With much energy they are implementing the decisions of the 15th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress. Such progress is possible only where party and people are linked in firm trust. And we cordially congratulate the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the fraternal Czechoslovak people on the splendid results of their diligent work. [applause] We wish you, dear comrades and friends, further great successes on the road shown by the 15th party congress. [prolonged applause]

We, too, can say that we are making good progress. Our national holiday, the 25th anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic, has stimulated new initiatives among a large number of work collectives. The atmosphere in the country is determined by the positive balance sheet, the awareness that work is worthwhile, the feeling of safety in socialism. Every year the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany are more and more becoming reality.

In our negotiations today it was emphasized that our stand for peace and detente is the most human of all concerns and the supreme principle of socialist foreign policy. As is known, this course was reaffirmed at the Ninth SED congress, and it was laid down that we will implement it together with the Soviet Union, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the other fraternal countries. Already it has yielded important results, and we can note with satisfaction that the peace strategy of the socialist community of states exerts great influence on international events.

In the talks with our Czechoslovak comrades we agreed in our firm determination to purposefully pursue this constructive foreign policy line. The central idea is to make peace more secure and detente irreversible. There is no sensible alternative to detente and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. We agree with our Czechoslovak comrades that the progress of detente must continue to be defended against all those who seek to undermine it. To deepen and to extend it to other regions of the globe is on the agenda of international politics. When we consider the present state of affairs we find both light and shadow. In view of not a few facts in the world which show that the danger to peace is still present, it becomes all the clearer how much still needs to be done to insure a lasting peace.

We expect that the Belgrade meeting, which begins tomorrow, will contribute to improving the political climate and strengthening peace and security in Europe. To cooperate constructively to this end is the mandate with which the delegation of the German Democratic Republic is participating in the conference. A businesslike approach, good sense and goodwill are the most reliable counselors in the interest of new positive results for detente.

Like our Czechoslovak friends and comrades, we consider it indispensable that, above all, the arms race should be curbed and concrete measures initiated to limit armaments and secure disarmament. Whoever is serious about this will have welcomed the recent joint Soviet-American statement on the limitation of strategic armaments as an encouraging sign. Given a realistic approach, we see progress is possible even in the most complicated international problems.

Every gain for detente is a gain for the peoples; by this consideration we are unswervingly guided. It is in this spirit that we support in toto the proposals of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the present UN General Assembly as a further significant initiative to make peace secure in the world. [applause]

Dear Czechoslovak comrades and friends, on the occasion of this manifestation of friendship accept the most cordial greetings of the communists and people of the German Democratic Republic addressed to the communists and people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the most cordial wishes for the further blossoming of your beautiful socialist homeland.

Long live and blossom the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, our loyal friend and reliable alliance partner! [prolonged applause]

Dear friends and comrades, long live and flourish the inviolable fighting alliance between the SED and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, between the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic! [prolonged applause]

Long live the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics! [prolonged applause]

Long live our common cause: socialism and peace! [prolonged applause, shouts of hooray]

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

HUSAK TOAST AT GDR STATE COUNCIL DINNER

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Oct 77 p 2 AU

[Toast by Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak at State Council dinner in Berlin on 4 October]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Honecker, esteemed Comrade Stoph, esteemed women and men comrades.

On behalf of the CSSR party-state delegation, I would like at the conclusion of our official friendship visit to express cordial thanks for the heartfelt reception accorded us wherever we stayed in the GDR. We regard these manifestations of sincere, comradely, fraternal relations as an expression of firm and inviolable alliance, of a deepening friendship and cooperation between our parties and states, between the CSSR and GDR peoples.

The Czechoslovak delegation's current visit as well as our previous meetings offered us a suitable opportunity for exchanging views on a broad range of problems which are of interest to our two fraternal parties and countries.

The Talk Produced Full Agreement

We may note with satisfaction that complete unanimity and full agreement were expressed in our negotiations and talks.

Our negotiations became a successful review of the good results we have achieved in all spheres of socialist building and mutual relations since the last visit of a GDR party-state delegation to Prague in October 1974 and since our meeting with Comrade Honecker in Lany early last year.

We acquainted each other with the results achieved by our two countries since the 15th CPCZ Congress and the Ninth SED Congress in building the developing socialist society. In view of our countries' economic structure and development level, our two countries are solving analogous tasks on this road in the field of politics, the economy, culture and socialist education. Hence a mutual exchange of opinions and joint action in solving these tasks are becoming even more important.

We also discussed deepening the coordination of the actions of our parties and countries with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, something that makes our peace initiatives more effective and promotes a further alleviation of the tension in Europe and the world. We affirm our sincere interest in further deepening the successfully developing cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and in perfecting multilateral cooperation among the CEMA member countries. No less attention do we pay to the further consolidation of the unity and international cooperation of the international communist and workers movement on the basis of the proven principles of Marxist-Leninism.

For the European peoples the fact that they have lived in peace and for more than 32 years is of extraordinary importance. The main credit for this goes to the patient and principled policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, a policy which is in accord with the vital interests of the broadest progressive, democratic and peaceful forces and therefore also enjoys their increasingly effective support.

No attempts by reactionary and revanchist forces in the West, which wish to return to a policy of pressure, dangerous tension and the precipitation of critical situations, can deflect us from our firm determination to actively and consistently work for international detente, for the implementation of effective measures to strengthen peace and for disarmaments.

Comrades, yesterday we signed a new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the CSSR and the GDR. We regard it as a very important document which expresses the significant progress achieved by our countries in their development, in their mutual relations and in their cooperation, as well as those far-reaching transformations that have taken place in the world. The treaty is imbued with the spirit of socialist internationalism and constitutes an expression of the goodwill which further strengthens the ties of friendship between our countries and peoples and helps to consolidate the friendship, alliance and unity of the countries of the socialist community.

Our party-state delegation's visit is taking place shortly before the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, an event of truly world historic significance whose legacy we are successfully preserving together with the peoples of the Soviet Union and which we are fulfilling with daily work in our countries for the victory and upsurge of socialism.

The outstanding results of 60 years of socialist development and the brilliant prospects are expressed in the New USSR Draft Constitution, as Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev convincingly pointed out at the Supreme Soviet session today.

This anniversary has become a significant occasion for the working people of our two countries, who with their political and labor initiatives are convincingly proving their loyalty to the cause of socialism as well as their determination to embark on the road opened up by the victorious October Revolution to the working people of all countries.

The GDR--A Faithful and Reliable Friend

Esteemed Comrade Honecker, esteemed comrades, you will soon be commemorating the 28th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. On behalf of our delegation and of all working people of socialist Czechoslovakia, I sincerely congratulate you on your outstanding results in the building of socialism, and I wish you many successes in your further work for the flourishing of your socialist homeland. It is very important for us to possess in the GDR a close, loyal friend and ally as a neighbor who is a firm, integral part of the community of socialist countries.

Permit me, in conclusion, to express the firm conviction that the results of our visit as contained in the final communique, and in particular the new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, will significantly help to further develop mutual relations, to further deepen the comradely alliance between our countries and peoples.

I propose to raise my glass and to drink to:

The firm friendship, affinity and cooperation between the CPSZ and the SED, between the CSSR and the GDR;

Our firm friendship and our firm alliance with the Soviet Union, the cohesion of the countries of the socialist community, and the further development of fraternal cooperation between the peoples of our countries;

Further successes of the cause of socialism, progress and peace in the world;

Your health, esteemed Comrade Honecker;

Your health, esteemed friends.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

STOPH TOAST AT GDR NATIONAL HOLIDAY RECEPTION

East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1839 GMT 7 Oct 77 LD

[Excerpt] Berlin--A festive reception tonight marked the end of the celebrations of the 28th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The SED Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers had invited meritorious working people and the diplomatic corps to the Palace of the Republic. There was cordial applause when Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, other members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and representatives of the state leadership took their seats in the large hall of the palace.

Proposing a toast, Willi Stoph said that the festive gathering provides a worthy occasion for extending from the capital of Berlin heartfelt thanks to all men and women, the old and young generation, for the self-denying work by which they have contributed to the creation and growth of their socialist fatherland.

In his toast Willi Stoph, SED Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the GDR State Council, said that during the time which has elapsed since the GDR's founding on 7 October 1949 "our people have accomplished achievements, and changes have taken place in their life, which can rightly be described as historic."

"Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party the working class has built and successfully developed the socialist system of state and society in firm alliance with the working peasants, the intelligentsia and the other working people, in comradely partnership with all forces united in the National Front," the head of government said. "It was no easy road. Many obstacles and difficulties had to be overcome. In view of this the positive record which we can present today must be rated all the more highly."

Willi Stoph announced that, compared with the year of the GDR's founding, national income has increased 6.9 times. Industrial goods production in 1977 is nearly 11 times greater than in 1949. In other words, the output of 26 working days equals that of the whole of 1949.

The premier went on: "Our people celebrate their national holiday this year under the aegis of the successful implementation of the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress. The continued fashioning of the advanced socialist society is creating the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. The main task, which is characterized by the unity of economic and social policy, inspires the working people to ever fresh output efforts. This is shown by the socialist competition which is being conducted in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and which serves the all-round strengthening of our socialist GDR. The trustful relationship which links the Marxist-Leninist party with the working class, with the cooperatives' peasants, with the intelligentsia and all other working people is stronger than ever."

The speaker stressed that the GDR's national holiday is dominated by the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. "We congratulate our Soviet friends on their new constitution, which Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has described as the law of life of the advanced socialist society, as a new powerful instrument for the building of socialism," Willi Stoph said.

"This constitution proves afresh that under the leadership of the party of Lenin the USSR points the way to all peoples by pioneering deeds for the progress of mankind and world peace. Our people are fortunate in being linked in unbreakable friendship with the Soviet people for all time. The conclusion of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the GDR and the USSR 2 years ago today marked the opening of a new chapter in the fraternal relations between our peoples and states. Its implementation determines the practice of our cooperation in all spheres and will become an even more potent guide for our entire work in the future. With the other socialist states, too, our friendly relations are becoming increasingly close, and cooperation proceeds in larger dimensions."

The chairman of the Council of Ministers stressed: "The GDR continues its constructive policy for the realization of socialism's peace program and thus for the deepening of detente within the framework of the coordinated foreign policy of the community of socialist states. We will make further progress along this road, even though we do not close our eyes to existing problems and obstacles. Our concern is with the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states with different socialist systems. The Belgrade gathering can contribute to this if all participating states act with the necessary realism, constructively and responsibly."

"The GDR takes the view that the policy of detente can and must be extended to all continents. It is necessary, therefore to solve still existing international conflicts by peaceful means in accordance with the vital interests of the peoples and to prevent new hotbeds of crisis from arising. The most urgent tasks of our time are the ending of the arms race and the conclusion

of agreements on concrete disarmament measures. The dangers arising from the development and production of new weapons of mass production must be removed. This is the only way to insure lasting peace throughout the world."

Willi Stoph affirmed the GDR's readiness "to continue consistently and persistently its policy directed to safeguarding peace and promoting international cooperation. At the side of the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries, jointly with the peace-loving people throughout the world, we will not flag in the struggle against the arms race and for disarmament. We extend our sympathy and support to the peoples fighting for their national independence and social progress. Our socialist state is firmly resolved to cooperate with the forces of good will in all states standing for the continued improvement of the international climate, the consolidation of confidence among the peoples, and mutually advantageous cooperation."

Seated at the tables in the great hall of the palace were:

Erich Honecker and Willi Stoph; the other members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo--Hermann Axen, Friedrich Ebert, Werner Felfe, Heinz Hoffmann, Werner Krolikowski, Wener Lamberz, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Konrad Naumann, Alfred Neumann, Albert Norden, Horst Sindermann, Harry Tisch, Paul Werner, Horst Dohlus, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowski, Egon Krenz, Inge Lange, Gerhard Schuerer; the president of the National Council of the National Front, Prof Dr Erich Correns; the chairmen of the other bloc parties and other personages, including generals and officers of the GDR Armed Forces.

Together with the dozen of the diplomatic corps, Algerian Ambassador Abdel Hafed Mansouri, the heads of the diplomatic missions accredited to the GDR were also present.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES GREET GDR NATIONAL DAY

From Libya's al-Qadhdhafi

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8-9 Oct 77 p 9 AU

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, Berlin.

I have the pleasure of conveying to you, Excellency, on the occasion of the national holiday of your country, in the name of the people of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and in my own name, our sincere congratulations and wishes for happiness, all progress and prosperity to the friendly people of the GDR.

[Signed] Col Mu'ammarr al-Gadhdhafi, leader of the great revolution of 1 September, Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

From Yugoslav Premier

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8-9 Oct 77 p 9 AU

[Text] To Comrade Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Berlin.

On the occasion of the founding of the GDR, I convey to you and the GDR Council of Ministers, on behalf of the Federal Executive Council and in my own name, most cordial congratulations and sincere wishes for the further development of the GDR.

I am convinced that our relations and the cooperation based on mutual benefit will continue to develop successfully for the benefit of our peoples, of socialism and peace in the world.

[Signed] Veselin Djuranovic, chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council.

EAST GERMANY

GOVERNMENT GREETINGS, EMBASSY RECEPTION MARK PRC NATIONAL DAY

Congratulatory Message

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1-2 Oct 77 p 1 AU

[GDR congratulatory message to PRC]

[Text] To the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China;

To the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Peking.

The State Council, the Council of Ministers and the people of the GDR extend the highest congratulations to the Chinese people on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

The victory of the Chinese people's revolution and the founding of the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1949 opened prospects of a bright future for the Chinese people who conducted a heroic struggle for national and social liberation under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The people of the German Democratic Republic have always stood at the side of the Chinese people in their struggle for peace, freedom and social progress.

The German Democratic Republic will continue to advocate the development of relations between our two states on the basis of the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference and mutual advantage, as well as the traditional friendship between the people of the German Democratic Republic and the Chinese people.

On behalf of the people of the German Democratic Republic, we wish the Chinese people successes in construction.

[Signed] State Council of the German Democratic Republic, Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic.

PRC Embassy Party

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1-2 Oct 77 p 2 AU

[ADN report from Berlin: "Meeting at the PRC Embassy in Berlin"]

[Text] Peng Kuang-wei, PRC ambassador to the GDR, gave a cocktail party on Friday on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the founding of the PRC. His invitation was accepted by Dr Manfred Gerlach, deputy chairman of the State Council; Ewald Moldt, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Gerhard Nitzeche, deputy minister of foreign trade; and other personalities of GDR public life. The heads of diplomatic missions accredited to the GDR also attended the party.

CSO: 2300

PEOPLES MUST CURB FORCES HOSTILE TO PEACE, DETENTE

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1-2 Oct 77 p 2 AU

[Editorial article: "The Basic Problem of Our Time"]

[Text] Today those people in our country--and also on our continent--who have not personally experienced a war are already in the majority. After millions had fallen victim to two murderous wars, peace has now lasted longer than a generation in Europe. More than three decades of peace are a great achievement of the peoples. It was achieved with tremendous sacrifices and defended with great efforts.

Peace and detente will also remain at the top of the agenda in the future. As before, securing and safeguarding them requires constant combat readiness and vigilance. Erich Honecker, speaking on this subject when opening the party school year in Dresden, said: "At a time when people are saying, and I think with good reason, that detente is making headway and that it must be made irreversible, tension has increased in quite a few areas of the international level. Proof of this is the rigor of the political and ideological conflict between the two systems, and even more so such a weighty fact as that imperialism is stepping up the arms race in an unprecedented manner."

Undoubtedly it is a significant success that the names of leading politicians of 35 states, including the United States and Canada, are to be found on the Final Act of Helsinki. But no one can and may overlook the fact that arms expenditures have increased tremendously in all capitalist states. They now total \$109.7 billion in the United States and more than DM50 billion in the FRG, in addition to DM100 billion for the reequipment of the Bundeswehr. Concurrently, an entire series of NATO war maneuvers is taking place. In connection with the introduction of new systems of weapons of mass destruction, the manufacture of the barbarous neutron bomb is being permitted in the United States and is being welcomed by the FRG Government as a "technological improvement."

These military activities are being complemented by political and ideological attacks on peace and detente. The attempts to systematically and overtly interfere in the domestic affairs of socialist states have also increased. Not in a long time has there been such an escalation of anti-communism and nationalism and of hatred of peoples and races in imperialist propaganda as there is now. The Hitler wave in the FRG is a symbol of the growing public influence of the reactionary forces, which have written on their banner the struggle against the Final Act of Helsinki.

What is necessary today to secure a lasting peace? First and foremost, it is important to prevent the most aggressive imperialist forces from implementing their plans hostile to peace. This is and will remain the most urgent task of the peoples' resolute struggle. If those who want to push the world back into the trenches of a cold or even a hot war can be tamed, cooperation between states with different social systems will also continue to develop positively. Should this not be achieved, however, whatever has already been achieved in the struggle for peace and detente would be threatened. And this must not happen--in the peoples' interest.

Today, when some people recommend that we speak not so much about the basic principles of security but above all about travel and human contacts, then the underlying intent cannot be mistaken. He who refuses to recognize GDR citizens for what they are and, in addition, attempts to pose as their guardian--to such people words about human contacts, properly speaking, should stick in their throats. As a matter of fact, there was also travel and there were contacts in great numbers before 1939, but they were unable to prevent the war. To prevent war, those who are again taking war into account as a means of politics must be tamed. This is the basis for the security of the peoples, for their cooperation.

What is necessary is that the Final Act of Helsinki be implemented as a whole. This includes strict observance of the principles of European security, such as respect for the sovereignty of states, noninterference, and respect for the inviolability of borders. It also includes complementing political detente with a military one. Disarmament has now become a new issue for further world development. Together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, the GDR has now submitted a series of realistic proposals for this. It did so recently at the UN General Assembly session.

Now it is important for us that the inevitable confrontation between the two large camps not be settled by means of war. Therefore, there is no acceptable alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. We are ready to cooperate with all who share in this only humane position. Past experience shows that peaceful cooperation benefits all, whereas provocations against peace and detente harm peoples. Thus, we combine our resolute pleading for a continuation of the process of detente with an equally resolute vigilance in the interest of reliably safeguarding peace. We want the future generations of our people as well as of other peoples of our continent to be able to live in peace.

PRESS STATEMENT ISSUED ON SED-AKEL TALKS IN BERLIN

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1-2 Oct 77 p 2 AU

["Joint press statement on the meeting of general secretaries: SED and AKEL: Active Struggle for Peace and Security"]

[Text] Ezekias Papaioannou, secretary of the Restorative Party of the Working People of Cyprus [AKEL], visiting the GDR at the invitation of the SED Central Committee, had a friendly meeting with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, in the SED Central Committee House on 29 September 1977. At the meeting, which took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, the general secretaries conducted an exchange of information and views on the policy of the two parties, the situation in the two countries, some international problems and questions of the international communist and workers movement.

Erich Honecker gave an account of the successful implementation of the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress and assessed the work achievements of the GDR working people for the further fashioning of the developed socialist society.

Ezekias Papaioannou reported on the current situation in Cyprus and the sacrificing, complicated struggle of the Cypriot people for a just and peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. Both politicians reaffirmed the concerted view of the SED and AKEL that the basis for such a solution is full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus as well as the withdrawal of all Turkish and other foreign troops and the elimination of their military bases. All refugees must be able to return to their homes under safe conditions. A search must be conducted for all missing persons. Measures must be undertaken to immediately implement the UN resolution on Cyprus whereby the Cyprus problem would be solved peacefully and democratically. As long as the Cyprus problem remains unsolved, the danger exists of a major conflict threatening peace.

The two parties therefore support the Soviet proposal for the convening of an international conference on Cyprus within the UN framework.

The SED and the GDR people, Erich Honecker stated, will continue to give solidaristic support to the struggle of AKEL and of all progressive Cypriot forces.

The general secretaries of the two parties pointed to the growing activities of the enemies of detente and stressed the need for a rigorous struggle of the international communist movement and of all democratic forces to safeguard peace and security. They particularly stressed the significance of the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for halting the arms race, for restricting armaments and for disarmament. The SED and AKEL representatives resolutely denounced the plans of the U.S. administration to manufacture the neutron weapon.

Erich Honecker and Ezekias Papaioannou said they expected the Belgrade meeting of the CSCE participant states to be an effective contribution to the consolidation of security and cooperation and to the strict observance of all the stipulations of the Final Act of Helsinki.

The two sides reaffirmed their solidaristic support for the struggle of the Arab states and peoples for a just political solution of the Middle East conflict.

A prerequisite for this is the withdrawal of all Israeli troops from Arab territories occupied in 1967 and recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to the establishment of their own independent state.

The SED and AKEL declare their solidarity with all peoples struggling for their freedom, independence and social progress and against racism, apartheid and colonialism.

The general secretaries of the SED and AKEL declared their determination to continue to work actively for the consolidation of the unity of the international communist and workers movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They underlined the far-reaching significance of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties and of their action targets for the struggle of the fraternal parties and all progressive forces to transform Europe into a continent of lasting peace.

The representatives of the two parties appreciated the world historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution as a determinant event for the progress of mankind in our century, and they affirmed the inviolable affinity of their parties with the CPSU. During the 60 years that have elapsed since the Red October, both general secretaries noted, the world has been changed fundamentally. The Soviet Union proved to be

an invincible force of peace and progress. In the interest of the further implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence and the safeguarding of peace, democracy and social progress, it is necessary to intensify the struggle against all forms of anticommunism and anti-sovietism. The SED and AKEL denounce the policy of the Chinese leaders aimed against the securing of peace, international detente and the revolutionary world movement.

The meeting, which was attended by Werner Walde, candidate member of the Politburo, and Paul Markowski, Central Committee member and head of the Central Committee Department for International Relations, affirmed the full agreement on all problems covered. The SED and AKEL will further develop their traditional close relations and will deepen their cooperation in the interest of the two parties and peoples.

CSO: 2300

UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT FIGURES SHOW DROP

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 17, Aug 77 pp 12-13

[Report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Decline in Number of Students in the GDR"]

[Text] Whereas the numbers of students in the GDR in the 1966-1972 period constantly increased (the increase from 1970 to 1971: about 15,000 students), since 1972 they have been dropping year by year. These figures show an overall drop of 30,000 students from 1972 to 1976--almost 20 percent. The reverse trend continued in the 1976-77 academic year, the last year for which reliable statistics on the number of students are available. This is apparent from the just published STATISTISCHES TASCHENBUCH DER DDR 77.

A comparison of student figures for the academic years 1975-76 and 1976-77 shows that there was a drop of over 6,500 in that period:

Academic year 1975/76	136,854 students
Academic year 1976/77	130,201 students
Loss	6,653 students

These statistics do not include foreigners studying in the GDR or research students (doctoral candidates). In a departure from previous practice, however, the inhabitants of the GDR studying abroad have since last year been included in the official statistics. If these students studying abroad are deducted for both past academic years, we obtain the following figures:

Academic year 1975/76	128,506 students
Academic year 1976/77	121,511 students
Loss	6,995 students

The reverse development of student figures is among the topics not dealt with by the media of the GDR. The most recent statement on this topic was by

Erich Honecker at the Eighth SED Party Congress in June 1971, when he declared that the number of students was not to be increased further.

The evident reason for the reticence in reporting these figures is that the third reform of higher education introduced in 1966-67 had originally been based upon the continuing expansion of higher education, including an increase in the number of students. Although there are still no official explanations, one of the reasons for the decline in student figures is the assignment of quotas for admissions. In the GDR, specific quotas are established for admission to study in each area of specialization on the basis of economic needs. The principle of admission policy is to admit only as many students as can predictably be employed upon the completion of their studies. A predictable drop in demand for graduates thus leads automatically to lower numbers of college students.

There have also been fundamental changes in recent years in the three different types of study--on-campus study, off-campus study and evening study. A statement of the numbers of students for the individual types of study for the academic year 1976-77 demonstrates this:

On-campus students	101,555 = 83.9 percent
Off-campus students	19,725 = 15.9 percent
Evening students	231 = 0.2 percent

Total 121,511

The percentage of off-campus students decreased from 26 percent in 1971 to 15.9 percent in 1976. With 231 students, evening study has been practically dropped and is conducted at only a few remaining colleges. Direct on-campus study is clearly dominant, with 83.9 percent. At the start of the reform of higher education, however, it had been planned to develop off-campus and evening study on a longer scale.

Table 1. Development of Student Figures, 1972 to 1976
(including GDR students abroad)

1972	160,967 students
1973	153,558 students
1974	144,606 students
1975	136,854 students
1976	130,201 students

The decline in student figures particularly involves those specializing in mathematics/natural sciences, technical sciences, economic sciences and teaching.

In a comparison of student figures among CEMA states, the GDR occupies only an inferior position, as the following table shows. The very diverse structures of the higher education systems within CEMA should, however, be borne in mind.

Table 2. Students per 10,000 of Population in the 1974-75 School Year

Soviet Union	188
Bulgaria	127
Poland	126
Hungary	99
Czechoslovakia	98
GDR	86
Mongolia	84
Cuba	75
Romania	72

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CSO: 2300

DATA PROVIDED ON EAST BERLIN NINTH DISTRICT

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 17, Aug 77 pp 9-11

[Report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "New East Berlin City District for More Than 100,000 Inhabitants"]

[Text] "The Ninth City District lies within the borders of our city," East Berlin Lord Mayor Erhard Krack recently declared in a talk with national and foreign journalists. As "Lord Mayor of Berlin, capital of the GDR," and member of the GDR Council of Ministers, Krack wished with this statement to quash conjectures that the new city district would incorporate GDR territory beyond the Berlin metropolitan areas. That would imply an infringement of the four-power status of Berlin. The new city district has come into being on territory belonging to the Berlin district of Lichtenberg in the Biesdorf-Marzahn area. A total of 20,000 apartments are to be built there by 1980 with 35,000 by 1985, providing housing for more than 100,000 inhabitants.

With his remark on the intended area of the Ninth City District, Krack was aiming at conjectures according to which parts of the GDR's Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk were to be handed to the new housing area. According to Krack's data, however, the borders of the planned city district will embrace only the settled areas of Mahlsdorf, Biesdorf, Marzahn, Hellersdorf, Friedrichsfelde-Ost and the new housing area to be built--all places lying within the city limits of Berlin.

This area was selected as the site of the new city district since, thanks to the low density of construction in the suburbs, only about 3 percent of the existing buildings will have to be demolished to make way for new construction.

The Ninth City District project was presented to the public in May 1976 as part of an exhibition on "The Development of the Capital of the GDR, Berlin." Two months later a "Ninth City District Working Group" was formed by the East Berlin magistracy; since then it has been headed by city councilman Gerhard Wehner (SED).

The importance which the administration attaches to the new construction project is evident from the fact that a special department for workers' welfare and meal service to serve the new city district and other building projects has been set up. City Councilman Guenter Herbert (SED), previously deputy mayor for trade and supply, was appointed to head the new department in October 1976, when the new magistracy was named. At a meeting of the East Berlin SED Bezirk Leadership prior to the formation of the new magistracy, a secretary for construction/investments had already been appointed, a position not found in any other bezirk leadership. The new secretary's position was filled by Gerhard Poser, till that time one of the deputy GDR ministers for construction.

The Ninth City District is being created on an area of 560 hectares, of which some 200 hectares belong to the close-to-town recreation area in the Wuhle Plain. Here the Hellersdorfer Kippe is to be turned into a 50-meter high hill in the form of a landfill. About 270 residents will live on each hectare of residential area, and 22 square meters will be at the disposal of each resident for recreation, sports and games. The existing ponds will be retained and expanded into small alkes.

Besides the 20,000 apartments, the following projects are scheduled to be completed by 1980:

- 20 polytechnic high schools
- 6 school and multipurpose buildings
- 15 gymnasiums
- 19 combination day-care centers/children's homes
- 9 supermarkets
- 4 leisure centers and nursing homes
- 6 club restaurants
- 1 polyclinic
- 1 pharmacy
- 1 service reception center
- 4 youth clubs
- 1 library
- 1 indoor swimming pool
- 1 branch of the savings bank
- 4 post offices

Of the apartment blocks about 22 percent are to have five stories, 60 percent will have 9 to 11 stories and 8 percent will have 19 to 23 stories. About 10 percent are projected as 1-room apartments, 20 percent as 2-room, 45 percent as 3-room, 20 percent as 4-room and 5 percent as 5-room apartments.

The construction area is divided into the three residential areas of central, north and south, which are each to receive their own "social center." The council of the city district will have its headquarters in the central residential area, the main center.

Whereas in 1976 generally only preparatory work was undertaken, which is being concluded this year, the first apartments are now already under construction. The new large-scale project was included in the competition movement, and all the brigades employed here are continually making "pledges for fulfillment ahead of schedule and with attention to quality." The goal of the "comprehensive socialist competition resolved in the name of all construction workers" is to complete 200 apartments by the end of the year.

Heinz Eschricht (SED), the construction manager for the Ninth City District, gave assurances that 2,000 additional apartments would be "initiated"; that is, that their construction would be begun before the end of the year. A club restaurant and a supermarket, initially for use by the construction workers, have already been completed. The first school will likewise be ready by 1 September 1977, the start of the new school year.

Streets, public utilities and other traffic facilities are also being worked on. For example, the GDR railroad was able to put the new S-Bahn [intra-urban railroad] line section from Friedrichsfelde-Ost to Marzahn in service as early as 30 December 1976. Six kilometers of track and electric rails had to be laid for it, and two platforms, a geographic circuitry panel, an electric underground power substation and six bridges had to be built. By 1979 the frequency of trains is to be stepped up from every 20 to every 10 minutes. From 1980, after the opening of additional stations, trains will run from Ahrensfelde to the East Berlin city center, the Alexanderplatz. The duration of the trip will then be 21 minutes. About three-fourths of all residents of the new city district will be able to reach an S-Bahn station within 10 minutes.

A total of 28.5 kilometers of streets will be built or rebuilt, and an additional 20 bridges and 9 pedestrian tunnels will be built. Streetcar and bus lines will be extended into the Ninth City District. For the streetcar, about 20 kilometers must be equipped with track and overhead wiring for this.

The new city district, which will reach the approximate size of the cities of Potsdam, Dessau or Schwerin, will, according to Lord Mayor Krack, at the same time be "an example for the planned nature of the shaping of our capital through city planning." Krack says: "We are assuming that--although it lies on the edge of the compact city--the Ninth City District will by no means become a satellite city but will be integrated through planning into the total organism of the capital of the GDR."

According to the plan, 20,000 new apartments in the Ninth City District are to be handed over to their leaseholders by 1980. This year--1977--the plan's goal of 194 apartments will be slightly exceeded, with 200 apartments. For 1978 the plan foresees 4,884 apartments and for 1979, 6,202 apartments. In the final year of the five-year plan currently in progress, or 1980, 9,581 apartments are then to be completed. The plan thus foresees a total of 20,861 apartments.

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CSO: 2300

DISSIDENT BAHRO WRITES OWN INTERVIEW DISCUSSING HIS BOOK

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 8 Sep 77 pp 14/15

[Rudolf Bahro comments on his book "The Alternative" criticizing the SED: "From Village Newspaper Editor to System Critic." For related articles see JPRS 69989, 18 Oct 1977, No 1462 of this series pp 8-15.]

[Text] "Commanding worldwide attention--hotly debated. A convinced Marxist settles accounts with SED apparatus." This is how Europaeische Verlagsanstalt in Cologne advertised the book "Die Alternative--Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus" [The Alternative--On the Critique of Socialism such as It Really Exists] by its author Rudolf Bahro, a SED member and GDR citizen. Just about unknown in the FRG and in the GDR until two weeks ago, Bahro has in the meantime indeed received "worldwide attention" and has become prominent. But this does not happen because he had fascinated so many readers--except for those in the GDR--with his book which has just begun to reach the bookstores. Bahro had anticipated this reaction by the apparatus to his criticism. This is why, even before taking the first step into public life, he gave his West German publishers a tape-recorded statement in the form of an interview in which he describes his motives and his background. We are publishing this noteworthy document, to begin with, in a slightly reduced version because of the circumstances in which it was presented on West German television and because of his [the author's] immediately subsequent arrest.

Question: By the time we air our conversation today, your book, "Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus," will already have come out under the title "Die Alternative." Does the new title not bring out your basic concern better than the original one? After all, you are presenting proposals for a different way of implementing Eastern European communism in political practice. You are making such proposals as a Marxist, as a GDR communist, in other words, from inside.

Bahro: What I wanted to provide was indeed not a primarily political polemic but rather a blueprint for a comprehensive political-economic analysis and alternative. My book is polemical only inasmuch as it destroys the official party self-portrait of socialism such as it really exists and lets reality speak against it. There is a widespread feeling among us that socialism, such as it really exists, and Marx' socialism are vastly different things, substantially different things. I prove that this is so. I do not denounce it; I declared it to be a historical fact. I analyze, I criticize really existing socialism as a unique type of society formation, such as Marx construed capitalism as a formation of society. I went far back into history, all the way to the old Asian production method, in order to make the genesis of our system understandable, naturally, for Russia, for the Soviet Union. In the GDR or in Czechoslovakia, really existing socialism, as we know, is a derived phenomenon, not an original phenomenon. Here it is not a subject that can be explained in its own terms.

[Question] That, in other words, is your point of departure. And what are you aiming at?

[Answer] The main questions, to which my book boils down and which I seek to answer, are these: what would man's general emancipation--because that after all was Marx' most original goal--what would that general emancipation signify today? Against what barriers would it be directed? How could and how would a communist practice have to look under the conditions of really existing socialism? Who would implement that practice and what are the forces from which its subject would be formed? And how would the new league of communists have to be organized? And for what political and economic action program?

By the way, I am asking these questions in such a way that they should also be of interest to Western communists and socialists. It seems to me to be questionable, for example, whether a left-wing front, such as the one in France, should include an increase in steel output as an essential program point and fail to put in a provision for investment pump priming--in other words, still a little bit more of the same old medicine. In short-range terms, some things might be correct and that would include a boost for the steel industry. But what kind of a new civilization does the French Communist Party conceive? What has it really learned since May 1968?

[Question] Yes, these are problems which today are of interest not only to communists. Unfortunately, it is useless to ask why your book is not being published in a big edition in the GDR where you live. But what will happen when you are forced to approach the public outside the country? Will it be at all possible to read your book in the GDR?

[Answer] A couple of hundred copies will find their way here and a couple of thousand people will read it then. I summarized the substance also in a series of lectures which will certainly be broadcast on the radio. Besides, I disseminated the book simultaneously also in the GDR although, in keeping with my possibilities, only in a small, rather unprofessionally done-up edition. I am confident that the basic ideas will become known.

[Question] How will the SED react to a situation where a citizen, once again a party member--which after all you have been for almost 25 years now-- openly adopts an opposition standpoint? Your book is logically relentless and quite uncompromising in the dispute. In the long run it can exert the kind of influence that would undermine the ruling structure.

[Answer] I hope so. I am intervening in a process which has been underway for a long time. The original idea has been completely hollowed out. The party stands there, like the Church of the Popes before Luther's Reformation, unbelieving deep down into its own ranks. Helplessness all the way into the Politburo. No concept whatsoever, far and wide. All mass mobilization media, especially in the economy, have been worn down and worn out to the point where they simply do not work any longer. Wherever you look, speechlessness. No more discussion.

I wanted to give the new forces the theoretical foundation for the struggle for the dissolution of the traditional Stalinist system of society. This system or constitution must be done away with because it cuts into life, because it is unproductive, because it shackles and paralyzes the subjective driving forces, because it uses them up in a competition with the West which we can never win this fashion.

[Question] Do you think that SED will come to grips with your book?

[Answer] Who is the "SED?" Let us first of all talk about its apparatus. Because that is what you meant; the apparatus naturally will first of all respond with the well-rehearsed defense mechanisms. It will call my book not only revisionist but, right away, counterrevolutionary. It will talk about some people who supposedly commissioned that book from me. Any attention by noncommunist or anticommunist circles (among which it has recently included even a man such as Santiago Carillo) will thus be interpreted by the apparatus in this fashion. That is routine by now. The brains in the service of the apparatus need not even do any thinking any longer. It is after all no big thing to take a couple of exposed sentences out of context. The apparatus must alienate criticism. It must not be true that it comes from the inside, that it has a broad base throughout the land founded on the prevailing mood also and precisely among the party membership itself. They will at all cost try to avoid a dispute with my arguments and results.

To be sure--they will read the book, also officially, so to speak. And now comes the thing that is really important here. Almost everybody who will do that--with or without orders-- will think something different from what they can or must subsequently advocate in public. I believe I have written a book against which the political police will be powerless because it addresses the most loyal members of the apparatus--to the extent that they are at all ready to think--in terms of their most natural capacity as thinking people. At least as far as the analysis is concerned, as far as the features of existing conditions are concerned, Politburo members will also be looking at these pages and, from time to time, mumble to themselves: yes, that is the way it is. This has disarming effect, deep down. I am building directly on

the difference between the official position and the internal psychological process in the political individuals. When I talk about the apparatus, I am always talking about a reactionary power structure, not just the individuals who are tied to it at various points of junction. They could, after all, step out of that jungle tomorrow.

[Question] And what about the rest of the GDR public?

[Answer] Well, my book naturally is addressed, last but not least, to the many semiloyal party members and, in general, to people who feel critical bonds with the GDR. Most of them continue to play the game only because they feel that there is no hope whatsoever for any change. It is after all not something new in history that a certain generation, in a mass, has the experience that "nothing will do any good." Here, among us, many feel that nothing "works" either inside or outside. Resignation. That is purely psychological. A process of rigidification, a tendency which individuals would have to resist. History of course always continued on. All of a sudden "things work" after all--only by then, some of us are no longer around. The thing that I attack resolutely is the remnant of loyalty toward the apparatus which has been doing damage to the GDR's noncapitalist foundation for a long time. Reality is such that in particular every party intellectual must ask himself whether the apparatchik--because to a certain extent this is exactly what he is--or the communist predominates in him. Nobody can get around this internal subjective contradiction.

And finally, my book also addresses the real opposition members. I want to give them courage for an optimistic, constructive position. Do not walk the way of defeatism and despair but rather the way of organized opposition! Be ready if necessary to give up your existence so far, for example, your special role as hired intellectuals.

[Question] In other words, you believe that your work will alter the situation in the GDR?

[Answer] Especially the ideological situation. But I am not counting on a momentary sensation--if anything, the exact opposite. You are going to have the most varied, emotionally-conditioned reactions--especially since as a rule it will not be possible for people to read the book right away. But this is precisely why I supplied a theory. That is what I rely on. I rely on the long-term effect of every thought that really penetrates to the crux of the problem. I tackled the whole thing with absolute seriousness, with full sincerity and consistency. I have staked not only my intellect but my existence as a citizen on that. This will not fail to have its effect.

I am talking here about myself expressly by way of example. I am after all not the first who has dared something. Personal examples can have a considerable effect now. You have to exploit the situation since Helsinki and especially since the Berlin Conference, since the emergence of Eurocommunism, in order to drive the ideological apparatus up against the wall. Do not give it any rest if at all possible, do not give it a breather in the ideological

struggle. Keep making scenes, one after the other. This is what I call getting the apparatus used to the idea of having to face an open opposition. The goal is, in the end, to force upon the apparatus the open ideological battle in its own country, in all countries of really existing socialism. That is what we must work toward. And for that the opposition needs a comprehensive counterposition, not just individual proposals. It must put the draft of a different overall policy on the agenda. Such aspects as the issue of human rights must find their place in a broader constructive context. I am absolutely sure that, in really existing socialism, there is no alternative to apparatus rule which could be implemented without or against the communists. We must resolutely break away from late-Stalinist apparatus rule and place our political experience, our Marxist method, in the service of society. That applies to each and every one of our countries and at the same time to all of them together, especially also the Soviet Union itself.

[Question] What consequences are you expecting as far as you are concerned, personally? What will happen?

[Answer] I could not afford to take this question too seriously. If you start figuring things at this point, you cannot select such a position. I am prepared for any conceivable reaction. I had enough time to prepare myself for the moment of truth. After all, I will not be the victim; it is I who am attacking. I had the good fortune of being able to determine the moment of the attack myself.

[Question] You will of course be kicked out of the party.

[Answer] Yes, very quickly and very coldly. That is the way things are usually done in such cases. After all, according to this book it is clear that I stopped playing by the rules, which the apparatus had set up for the party, a long, long time ago, at the very latest, since 21 August 1968. It is not normal however--although it is typical of the system--that I will lose my job. The right to one's job is presently being heavily emphasized in official GDR propaganda. I will see to what extent that applies to me.

[Question] And you are not afraid of anything more than that?

[Answer] Whether they are going to arrest me or not--that will depend on protection from the international, especially the communist public. It is in the nature of our political system that there are certain paragraphs [in the law] which I had to violate in order to step out front in the first place. Our system needs laws which, by way of precaution, are such that a man, who wants to spread deviating thoughts must violate them--because if he does not want to spread them, he is not at all political. Depending upon the interpretation, I would be threatened in the new criminal code from the very beginning with between two and ten years if they decide that my criticism on the political superstructure be categorized as anti-state hatemongering. But the whole thing began much earlier. For example, I should have submitted my book at the right time to the government copyright office with a request to

release it for print abroad. I did take that step for my relatively harmless, completely immanently designed dissertation, after its acceptance had been rejected both by the college in Leuna-Merseburg and by the Dietz Publishing House. I was told that I would under no circumstances get permission [to publish] and especially not for the publishing house I had in mind. From the official viewpoint, that is a particularly nasty publishing house. "You would be in the worst possible company," they said.

[Question] Which publishing house?

[Answer] Yes, that would be the VSA [expansion unknown] Publishing House in West Berlin, the publishing house for the study of the worker movement, and the program there is headed by the leaders and theoreticians of Eurocommunism. In short, any alternate political concept and attitude is criminalized already with its elementary consequence, which is of course publicity. Publicity is legally unattainable. For Europe, a highly anachronistic state.

[Question] And they will not expel you from the country? This after all has in recent years become a firm fixture in the practice employed against members of the opposition.

[Answer] It is possible that the apparatus might thus testify as to its own extreme poverty. But it will not be able to make my book extraterritorial in this fashion. As far as I personally am concerned, I fight here although I do not think it would be difficult to find my position elsewhere in the revolutionary ranks.

I did my thinking from here. I am, so to speak, a product of the GDR, through and through, in terms of my entire background and education. I am co-responsible here, at home. This is precisely one point I would not want anybody to misunderstand. Since the age of 15, I have never been on the outside; I have, since 1950, in other words, just about from the very beginning, been involved in our conditions as one of the most active individuals. I know the terrain in every respect, not only theoretically but also practically. I have done everything possible not only in ideology, art, etc., but also in agriculture, science, in the college system and, for the last decade, in industry. People like I must simply try to change course here if they want to remain loyal to their beginnings. I never had the slightest inclination to withdraw from the field. On the contrary, when I had to drop out of regimented politics, ten years ago, I plunged even more deeply into politics, first of all into theory, but now entirely on my own.

[Question] Perhaps you could tell us something more about the way in which you came to have your experiences, some stations along the way of your growth?!

[Answer] My external biography turned out to be rather normal in GDR terms. A couple of conflicts, which I could tell you about, are typical of thousands of characters, similar to me, and not all of them got through them so relatively unharmed, internally, as did I.

After studying philosophy, back in 1959, the wake of my crisis of 1956-1957 (the 20th CPSU Congress, Hungary, Poland) for the first time swept me to Oderbruch, to a machine-tractor station. There I was village newspaper editor for an area including about seven or eight villages. I came just in time for the big campaign in support of the full collectivization of agriculture in 1960. I participated in that to the fullest extent. I have always been familiar with agriculture through my father. I come from a peasant environment. Collectivized agriculture is probably the GDR's biggest economic success.

Then I attend Greifswald University for two years, but not as degree candidate; instead I was once again editor. I put out the university newspaper there which was published by the party directorate. I came to know the atmosphere of science, of course in much greater detail than from the student's perspective. I found it easier to get a picture of the situation because this was a small, provincial university.

From Greifswald, the science division of the SED Central Committee transferred me to Berlin, to the central executive committee of the science labor union. There I was the chairman's assistant, among other things.

In 1965, I joined FORUM as deputy editor-in-chief. FORUM is addressed to college students and the young intelligentsia. In 1963, the Politburo issued a youth communique which gave the green light for a certain criticism directed against the bureaucratic apparatus by the younger generation. In the middle of 1965 I did not realize that this line was about to end. I came too late.

During my years with the labor union and with FORUM, I lost my political naivete, first of all even in a naive fashion. I did not like the whole setup, I did not like the bureaucratic rules of the game. I did not really fit in there. With FORUM I then gradually and consciously pursued a special course; toward the end, I tried to put things up for discussion which were not supposed to have been discussed. My slogan was: "Drag the contradictions out into the open, instead of sweeping them under the rug." I first had to learn that you cannot draw a straight line if you are just a little wheel in the ideological power machinery. We had a lyrical debate there. I did not know that I had started a provocation of the lyricists when I launched this debate. The discussion, which was supposed to materialize, was broken off. I myself had written from a rather sharp, so to speak "left-wing" position, particularly against Guenter Kunert. At that time I wrote the way I thought. But the lyricists could then not write what they were thinking and, to the extent that they were still allowed to write that stuff, I was no longer allowed to print it. In the end, the whole thing only did damage. When I realized that powers entirely different from my own personal convictions stood behind my typewriter, I gave up my position there, internally, and I decided to let the chips fall where they may. The straw that broke the camel's back was the reprinting of Volker Braun's "Kipper Paul Bauch," for which I was responsible. That must have been in the autumn of 1966.

A couple of months later I wound up in industry, a rather soft landing by the way, as I would like to stress here. By the way, I was always lucky enough to be treated well and that also applies to my transfer out of FORUM. I never became personally chagrined and embittered.

[Question] But what about the future? What will become of your family? You do have a family?

[Answer] I had a family until four years ago. My children are now 20, 15, and 13. Our situation of course is such that one must, in the end, be all alone if one wants to go to the front, the way I am doing now.

[Question] Were you not afraid all those years?

[Answer] Sure, I was afraid, but my fear had less to do with the consequences that might hit me some day. I was afraid of not being able to do my job and above all I was afraid of not finishing my job, of being discovered too soon, of not reaching the public. But I can assure you that I slept well most of the time. This is simply a question of the way you are put together.

[Question] But you do not mean to say that your situation by and large was unproblematical?

[Answer] I face above all one particular problem. It is not easy to keep the consequences, for which one really lives, hidden from the environment for such a long period of time. I would much rather have come out and showed my colors much earlier. It is after all precisely the "normal" manner of conformists vegetating into which one is forced publicly--and this is what makes you mad. You cannot imagine how happy I am that this hide-and-seek game is now at last over for me, that I can at last reveal my true face to society or what is supposed to be society and those who know me. That was frequently impossible since 1968. But I am confident because most people will certainly realize that I had to behave exactly the way I did if I really wanted to write this book. Because of the way the whole thing shapes up, I simply had to live the double life of an illegal individual. That was not directed against my colleagues and comrades but rather against the machinery, which, in the final analysis, forces this form of combat upon you. A big job is the best way to prevent internal tension. You can imagine that I was fully occupied all the time. I led a double life especially in this sense, although of course at the same time it was rather one-sided.

[Question] Nevertheless, your book must have come like a bolt out of the blue for many people who daily worked with you and who thought that they knew you well.

[Answer] That's for sure. By the way, those people, who knew me somewhat better, will be surprised only at first sight. People could always talk quite openly to me, so long as they stayed within bounds. It might even appear as if I had concealed less than other people. After all, it goes without saying that all political people in the GDR think somewhat differently from the way they can express it openly on the job, etc. In private, you

can communicate a little less with one person and a little more with another person. Often this requires only a few words, just a little hint. Attitudes can be recognized quickly. Those who have the courage to open their visors earn rather a lot of confidence if their conversation partners of course do not accidentally involve a generally too timid character. Much more communication is possible than some people might think. There are people who are afraid of each other even though they would not at all have to be afraid.

[Question] And how did you find the time or the peace and quiet to write this book, moreover, a doctoral dissertation--all of this as a "sideline" and, it seems, in good health? According to all appearances, you were never sheltered somewhere in a scientific institute.

[Answer] At any rate, I studied philosophy at Humboldt University for five years during the fifties. Do you know, if I had wound up in the field of science, in our official science--I would simply have been ground up. I would perhaps have put out some fatter manuscripts but probably not this book. Strange as it might sound, I needed better conditions for that and I also found them. Time is not the only thing you need.

In presenting this book to the public now, I can say that I did not miss a single day on my job in industry to do the book--to the very last. But I found comparatively favorable conditions there, at least until 1975. I did not have a management job; instead, I was involved in technical-organizational theme studies in an engineering bureau which was something like a company consultant office for a certain branch of industry. My direct contact with everyday industrial and economic-policy practice proved to be downright good for my purposes.

My spare time was also enough for my preliminary studies. But then I needed a couple of months, continuously, to write the first draft. Here I had a bit of luck. I had an opportunity for an extra-plan doctoral candidacy. That meant that my enterprise would release me from my work for three months at a time in 1972-1974. I sort of digressed from there for 5 out of that total of 9 months and my first version was ready in the summer of 1973; even then it was a fat book with more than 300 typewritten pages.

By the summer of 1975 I then wrote my dissertation. In it I rather concretely examined the way in which the production conditions of really existing socialism hinder the unfolding of those subjective production forces which are embodied in the growing number of college and technical school cadres in our enterprises. In that text, the real conclusions of course are camouflaged or concealed and, stylistically, it barely manages to remain within the rules of grammar. But this work triggered so much suspicion and discomfort--particularly because of an appendix of rather explosive investigation material, featuring unadorned records of just about 50 interviews with industrial cadres --that the college finally wrote to me that this work would have to be rejected, supposedly because it did not meet scientific requirements.

[Question] I am astonished at how heavily you obviously emphasized the idea of doing regular work within a normal framework in spite of and during your work on the revolutionary book which has now been published.

[Answer] First of all one might say that this happened to be the simplest way to behave. But apart from that--I have always and in every respect found it difficult to fudge. In doing so, you do not harm the apparatus so much but rather all people who normally pursue their work. You interfere with continuing communication. That indicates a lack of solidarity. And you also harm your own ability to work.

It is by the way a very important rule for the political struggle under our conditions not to spread any additional disorganization--the level is high enough already!--but rather to articulate the anger over the prevailing disorganization and to express it specifically in order to indicate solidarity particularly with those who would like to do sensible work at their place. One must never confuse individuals with the apparatus, not in terms of functions, either. Not infrequently, they are the first to suffer from the system's mistakes.

And there was something else I was concerned with. Our conditions deprived quite a few critically thinking people of their productivity and drove them into an unhappy beyond, into some eccentric positions. I proved that I can function also in the existing system. I was, as I said, a journalist. I was a labor union official in the central apparatus. As specialist, I handled technological and organizational rationalization projects. At this very moment I am still in charge of a team of engineers concerned with work organization and work standardization.

[Question] Also with work standardization?

[Answer] Yes, also with work standardization. Otherwise I would not have such an accurate knowledge of the things I describe in my book, why or to what extent one must abolish this sort of thing. And in my dissertation I was also trying to prove this: it is possible constructively to outplay the ruling reactionary tendency. I did not quite succeed in pulling that off. But when I think that I first of all obtained a possibility of doing concentrated theoretical work and that, second, there were three positive expert reports, in other words, that, afterward, after the entire scandalous procedure, they had to try to get another two negative reports in order to be able to justify a rejection in the college's scientific council--well, the rest is pure gravy.

[Question] Those were the external circumstances which we talked about. How did you get to that point, internally? If I understood you correctly, you have been working along those lines since 1968.

[Answer] The book certainly did not come about quickly. The beginnings actually extend even further back, although I did not definitely begin to write it until the early seventies.

The period of incubation is between the two well-known days of August 1961 and 1968. I was one of the many, primarily young communists in the GDR, who, with the unavoidable closing of the borders at that time, connected the illusion that the party would, in the new situation, make an attempt to win the majority of the population over to the socialist idea. It was, as we may say after the fact, a hope for something like a Prague spring in Prussia, Saxony, and Mecklenburg. With the 1963 "Youth Communique," which I mentioned earlier, the leadership yielded to that widespread mood. But by the middle of the sixties it was already clear that this was only a tactical maneuver and that nothing new was supposed to be started, except for the advance of a technocratic orientation sustained by the international development of the production forces.

Around that time I realized clearly that it would be necessary to start a systematic fight against the conservative elements in the party. I thought it would be possible to push them out of their power positions, step by step. One would only have to arm oneself better in order to be able to defeat them in the internal party trench warfare. At that time I had not the slightest idea as to the nature of that opponent and the sources of his strength, his constant reproduction. The apparatus as such--which guarantees the continuity of reaction--did not yet represent a problem for me. Only on that condition could I place my hopes in a mere rejuvenation process among the cadres--because that is what I was most interested in, in the final analysis. In reality, suitable and selected cadres are integrated into and absorbed by the apparatus, in a quite lawful manner. Exceptions only confirm the rule.

[Question] How did you get down to work in view of this attitude?

[Answer] First of all I made some sort of global preparations without any clear basic concept. I began to study Marx anew and to explore the real history of the CPSU and the Soviet Union. That became my Trotskyite stage. I particularly owe Isaac Deutscher some indispensable knowledge. At the same time I was interested in the Yugoslav experiment and China's road, in the essence of the dispute between Mao Tse-tung and Khrushchev. The break between Peking and Moscow was of tremendous significance even as a mere fact because it once again at last subjected Marxist basic principles to further discussion. Naturally, I devoured the Togliatti Memorandum at that time; I still have the page from NEUES DEUTSCHLAND today.

In December 1967 I wrote a letter to Ulbricht on the basis of my first experience on my new job in industry. I brought up the question of socialist democracy and worker self-administration under the conditions of our economic organization in a positive fashion--as we are accustomed to putting it in our circles. The answer was brought to me only six months later by a fellow worker on the Central Committee, in other words, in May 1968, when the renewal movement in Czechoslovakia was moving towards its climax: it was merely a verbal warning. Nothing more came of it, not even after 21 August, although I had advocated the experiment in public to the very last. At that time nobody was looking for deviationists and nobody is looking for them today either--unless they make themselves noticed in public.

[Question] The invasion of Czechoslovakia obviously played a decisive role in your decision. What were things like in 1968 and what did people feel about that there?

[Answer] It was a real, profound excitement which had been growing already since January and then you could see the tremendous change in many faces on 21 August--disappointment, shame, and downcast eyes.

For me, 1967 and 1968 were years of highest hopes. In China at that time, around 1967, a saw the great attempt of saving the world's most populous country a march through the depressions of bureaucratic Stalinism. In Czechoslovakia, the same enemy--Stalinist bureaucracy, which blocked every socialist progress in our part of the world--was inflicted a wound which has not healed to this very day.

[Question] Earlier you talked about illusions after 13 August 1961 and now you talked about hopes before 21 August 1968. One can detect an ideal here toward which these illusions and hopes were directed. But what was the driving motive behind that anyway? With what was one so dissatisfied as a communist--in purely personal terms?

[Answer] I do not know whether I can make you understand that fully. What forces people to take political action? In my book I mentioned the experience of the old Greek philosopher Plato of whom it is said that he did not find a state that would suit him. Perhaps a reference to an experience which, I estimate, hundreds of thousands had here in the GDR--people who over the past 30 years joined the SED while young. I had that experience too. I was 16 when I became a membership applicant in 1952. Now, we have preserved a bad old German custom here in the SED. If you have a club or an association, you have to have some sort of membership badge and that applies also to the party. But if you walk along our streets today, you will find very few people wearing the party pin--almost always only those who must wear it because of their exposed role. But our little country has 1.6 million party members.

When I was an applicant and when I became a member later on, things were for the most part quite different. You will find it difficult to visualize how proud we were at that time, I and numerous other young comrades, to wear this party badge, the clasped against the background of the red flag. And now I ask myself and I ask all of these young comrades from all those 30 years: how did it happen that we are now ashamed to put on this pin? The essence of the matter is that we learned quite gradually to be ashamed of that party to which we belong, that party which has the notorious distrust of the people, which daily, all the way, tells the people what to think politically and which must lie to the people even over the most ridiculous little details which everybody knows better anyway, in a manner that makes everybody who belongs to it blush with shame.

The more you belonged to it originally, the less can you now bear it in the long run--the ways in which the party destroys the idea and casts aspersions

now upon those who were sacred to it once upon a time. Silence, nothing but silence, is the general rule. Most comrades no longer know what they are supposed to say. But those who have the insight, the tools, the capacity for looking through all the things that have happened here and still happen everyday, in terms of having new conditions of control here instead of socialist freedom and equality for all workers--those who look through all that and still do not lose their selfrespect, those must simply look around for another alternative, for a possibility of once again living in agreement with themselves. That was the secret of the great hope of 1968 which had also spread so wide in the GDR.

Up to intervention [in Czechoslovakia], I was still geared toward imminent criticism of the apparatus; but now I had to make the jump. In moral terms, I had no other choice. The invasion was a blow that hit me as personally as any of the most committed Czechoslovak actors. At that time--and I certainly was not the only one--I drafted my party resignation statement. Then I realized that this morally so necessary gesture would fizzle the moment we were subjugated. I could and had to do something better, something more radical.

I do not know whether those responsible believed at that time that they would not have to pay the bill for that 21 August. It can do no harm if they know now whence comes the irreconcilability, which in the future will more and more frequently frustrate their political plans. The struggle will not end until the source of such reactionary acts of violence as those in 1968, until late-Stalinist apparatus rule has been swept away. During the first few hours and days after intervention, something changed for me, once and for all. At any rate, I now wanted to give an answer against which they would have to be as powerless, in terms of ideas, as we were against their tanks. It is my conviction that this ideological powerlessness is more fateful than the material one.

[Question] That does not really sound particularly Marxist.

[Answer] I do not care what that sounds like. By the way, here is what Marx said: "The idea becomes the material force." I showed that the apparatus is congealed knowledge and consciousness organized to rule. Its rule must be thoroughly undermined ideologically before it can fall, materially. This is precisely also what we are taught by events leading up to the Prague spring. I have always believed in the power of ideas and words and I have always believed that it does matter whether you are determined to pursue your cause and whether, deep down, you do not yield when the decision must be made. Marx himself is inconceivable without this kind of approach. The new truth need not even be said particularly loudly. It advances nevertheless and there will always be the necessary courage for that.

[Question] Your book actually makes a much more objective impression than one might assume in the light of the motivations which you are disclosing here.

[Answer] I can disclose these motivations now because, by writing, by converting energy, I was gradually able to relieve myself of all that, of

everything that was merely pent-up protest. I decided to suppress the first version, the version of the summer of 1973. Apart from the general weaknesses in the entire concluding portion, it contained too much resentment and subjective wishful thinking.

One must master all self-destructive bitterness. I consider it a weakness when some members of the opposition are inclined to blame the course of history whenever their immediate intentions are not confirmed. Those who allow themselves to be made sick are generally lost to the cause of renewal.

After intervention [in Czechoslovakia], as soon as I had gotten hold of myself again, I studied Marx for the third time and I studied Leninism critically for the first time; I am talking of course in historical-analytical terms here. Because Lenin's revolutionary integrity and his greatness in terms of world history are still beyond doubt as far as I am concerned.

To understand really existing socialism, I developed my own picture of world history, that is to say, of the multiple aspects especially of the civilizations outside Europe and the unity of their general structural problems. I then began to write in 1971.

[Question] In other words while you already had your job in industry.

[Answer] Yes. And since 1975, finally, I revised the first version as thoroughly as I could in view of the available time--by the way, with the exception of the first four chapters. There I made only very few stylistic corrections although even here I originally did not want to change much. But then I got my hands on Rudi Dutschke's publication "An Attempt to Put Lenin back on his Feet." He wrote his work precisely at the same time when I was writing those four chapters. Especially my third and fourth chapter referred to the same sources, and in Lenin, even to the same quotations, to some extent. But Rudi Dutschke arrived at a quite different situation estimate. I wanted to avoid the certainly interesting contrast between positions to be wiped out by a sweeping polemic and this is why I left everything the way it stood.

The dissertation, which I did in the meantime, was a big help when it came to supplementing and changing the second and third parts. I am now even more concrete with respect to realistic-socialist economic practice.

The third part in particular is extensively new; the entire theory of general emancipation today and the chapters on the economics of the cultural revolution were completely absent in the earlier version.

The third part is now the most important one to me, although the preceding analysis is still indispensable and although it will probably be confirmed more than the alternate conception. Analysis alone is not enough.

Theory need not stop before its practical political consequences. The important thing here is to draft a program for which one can mobilize men

who no longer want to continue the way they had been going so far. And I want to make sure that my book will provide impetus for broader self-understanding and for a greater rally in support for the struggle for a new perspective under socialism such as it really exists.

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EAST GERMANY

FRG FEDERAL COURT APPROVES MISUSE OF GDR TRANSIT ROUTES

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1-2 Oct 77 p 2 AU

[ADN dispatch from Bonn/Berlin: "FRG Federal Court Approves Misuse of GDR Transit Routes"]

[Text] In blatant contradiction of the valid treaties between the GDR and the FRG, the FRG Federal Court in Karlsruhe in one of its sentences has explicitly approved the misuse of GDR transit routes.

According to the DPA report, the court has declared so-called escape-help contracts of criminal gangs of traffickers in human beings "legally fully valid" when for the implementation of these contracts "the transit routes between West Berlin and the FRG are used, even though the Federal Government, in keeping with agreements concluded with the GDR, must prevent misuses of the roads."

In a radio program to "explain the sentence," Federal Judge Franz Merz went so far as to maintain that the transit agreement between the GDR and the FRG should not be "assessed as a legal prohibition" against the crimes of gangs of traffickers in human beings on the transit roads; the same program went on to say that "GDR regulations" must [duerften] not be "respected by the FRG."

In this context, leading GDR quarters are drawing attention to the unambiguous provisions in the treaties between the GDR and the FRG, for example, Section 16 of the agreement on the transit traffic of civilian persons and goods, which says, among other things: "Under this agreement a misuse exists if, after validation of this agreement, a transit traveler culpably and in violation of the law transgresses the generally customary GDR regulations concerning public order while using the transit routes." Reference has also been made to the treaty on traffic problems between the two states, whose Article 2 explicitly stipulates that "traffic is subject to the law of the state on whose territory it occurs." Any attempt to violate the existing treaties can only have a negative impact on transit traffic between the FRG and Berlin-West. The FRG court in Karlsruhe, which commands enough judges who are versed in international law, should be aware of this.

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

CRITICISM OF STUDENTS--The East Berlin student newspaper FORUM has severely criticized many students for being opportunists and for lacking sufficient political involvement. The journal states that some students fear nothing more than to have their own opinions and to engage in independent thinking; they constantly conform to others and "go with the tide." Also, their most important means of informing themselves is not by means of the mind but the nose; i.e., they "smell out" whomever it is to their own advantage to agree with. According to FORUM, this is not in keeping with GDR society. It is not only a matter of dignity to strive for intellectual independence and to have one's own opinion, but it is also a vital necessity for the further development of socialism. In the view of the FDJ organ, there must be "more allergic" reactions to the "contemporaries at our universities" who exhort the students to have their own opinions but who make clear the limits of formation of individual opinion by the students. Sometimes, according to FORUM, the tendency on the part of some students toward forming their own opinions takes on "very dubious aspects" in that they think they are losing their individuality if they "adhere to the line." And, thus, they extract the happy medium from diametrically opposed concepts and present it as their own opinion. This, however, is "not an acceptable independent formation of opinion but only foolishness." [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 190/191, 5/6 Oct 77 p 1]

HUMAN TRAFFICKER SENTENCED--Berlin (ADN)--The Magdeburg Bezirk court condemned FRG citizen Heinz Mahnke to 10 years in jail on 29 September 1977. As a member of an FRG criminal gang of traffickers in human beings, Mahnke had committed crimes of antistate trafficking in human beings while misusing the transit routes. The motor vehicle used for the crime was confiscated. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1-2 Oct 77 p 2 AU]

EXTRADITION REQUEST--Kassel (ADN)--On 3 October 1977 a Kassel (FRG) court of lay assessors sentenced GDR citizen Andreas Fehder to a prison term of 8 months for manslaughter and suspended the sentence for a probationary period. As previously reported, Fehder escaped to the FRG after negligently killing a member of the GDR border troops on 14 July 1977. The sentence pronounced in Kassel, continuing the arrogant attitude of FRG judiciary organs, ignores the request for the extradition of the fugitive Fehder, submitted and repeatedly confirmed by the GDR prosecutor general. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Oct 77 p 5 AU]

HUNGARY

NATURE, PURPOSE OF ATTACKS ON SOCIALISM ANALYZED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 10, 1977, pp 39-43

[Article by Tamas Palos: "In the Center of the Attacks Against Socialism"]

[Text] The facts clearly show that socialism and capitalism are constantly fighting each other even under the relations of peaceful coexistence. But it is also obvious that with detente the forms of the struggle are changing. We can soundly maintain that the international class war in characteristic form is given to maintaining the strategy of the capitalist world, and in the meantime gives evidence of a large degree of tactical ability to adjust.

The constancy of this basic strategy and the tactical variability serving the realization of class strategy — to which the alterations of power relations stimulate monopoly capitalism — is also reflected in propaganda. Today, the imperialist propaganda machine, as essentially always, faithfully serves the interests of the bourgeoisie, its policy, and therefore its ultimate goal is to help the decline of socialist ideas and the elimination of its practice. At the same time, there is no doubt that it is trying to reach this goal differently from many viewpoints than formerly.

For example, it has been strikingly clear for a long time that it is trying to disguise its real intentions. It is not directly inciting the overthrow of the socialist system. It does everything it can not to appear as an external enemy but merely an "opposition" judging our social system from the inside, and in this respect its tone arouses the appearance of loyalty. Wherever it can, it links up with the themes of domestic public life, and seeks to give good documentation for what it has to say.

In summary, we can characterize the "change of color" as replacing the openly aggressive anticommunist propaganda with a propaganda advertising an "improvement" in socialism which in "addressing" Marxist problems frequently uses Marxist terminology. In the meantime, it propagates the so-called modes of socialism. It absolutizes the divergent characteristics of socialist building and then it presents the common laws as "the obligatory model antithetical to national interests." It also advertises the existence of a so-called Hungarian model, and in support thereof it tears it all up by the roots and basically falsifies our policies. The latest example of this is the manipulation of

Janos Kadar's tour in Western Europe. Bourgeois propaganda did everything it could to oppose the visits to our alliance obligations, paying no heed to the facts or to the reactions of understanding and support which Comrade Kadar's discussions called forth in the political and press circles of our allies.

It can be shown for bourgeois propaganda not only in general but also in detail how they seek to attain their goals by the most suitable mode and way at a given time. This can also be shown in anti-Sovietism.

Anti-Sovietism is not a temporary, cyclical phenomenon but a constant effort in the service of bourgeois ideology. We can well see this particularly in recent months, because in the preparations for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution we can take into account a whole historical era of such experiences.

The 60 years which have passed since the first socialist revolution embraces not only the Soviet Union but the history of the relations linked to it. In the chronicle of 6 decades we see revealed the past and the present of Soviet friendship and Soviet enmity.

"It was the great task of the thinkers of the 19th century to define their relations to the French Revolution," wrote the American historian, James Billington. "For modern man the evaluation of the Russian Revolution is the main task."

Most of the above-mentioned modern men are the international working class, and the progressive movement of every country for almost 60 years nourishes the feelings of solidarity, brotherhood, and fraternity toward the Soviet Union. The best sons of many countries fought with arms on the side of the Soviet peoples in the civil war. In the 1920's, the slogan was heard throughout Europe: "Hands off the Soviet Union!" Millions recall with reverence and gratitude the heroism of the Soviet people in the war against fascism.

These 60 years also bear witness that the anti-Sovietism is the distinctive characteristic of the reactionary effort of every order and rank, and that its life-giving source is nationalism, chauvinism. There is a change in its appearance, too. To the middle of the 1960's, the attacks on the Soviet Union were crude and unvarnished. At present it shows a different face: it is more nuanced and flexible. This can be explained primarily by the defeat of the cold war tactics and by the fact that public opinion does not believe in the crudely falsified rumors of the Soviet Union's situation, but is, in part, more receptive to a more devious manipulation appearing, for example, as the "spokesman" of socialism. And nationalism too, is more "representable" if it hides behind the screen of national sovereignty, and national interests and feelings.

What sort of manifestations characterize anti-Soviet propaganda today? Most of the changes can be detected not so much in articles and programs on the Soviet Union, its internal situation and foreign policy, but rather in that

bourgeois propaganda with its own means tries to shape the relations linked to the Soviet Union.

The starting point is immediately striking. This propaganda from the outset casts doubt on whether relations with the Soviet Union are of any particular political importance. Those who express these views do not reckon with two circumstances which taken separately or together make it understandable who and why one holds himself to be a friend of the Soviet Union.

One circumstance is history, the facts of which cannot be falsified. Among these is the fact that the Soviet Union has gone the farthest on the road of socialist development, and this has a profound attraction for the believers in revolution and progress everywhere in the world. These include the majority of the peoples building socialism, who understandably see the Soviet Union as the most influential political, economic, moral and military power promoting the attainment of the common goal, and they establish a close federation with it. The revolutionaries who are struggling in the capitalist countries respect the Soviet Union for consistently supporting progressive, democratic efforts and for being their promising support in the struggle against imperialism. The world-wide peace movement, on the other hand, respects and supports the Soviet Union because its domestic and foreign policy and its military strength serves to defend all mankind. That is, not only sympathy and feeling but facts stimulate millions of people to stand beside the Soviet Union.

Another circumstance is the community of interests and destiny. When a communist fights for another socialist country, he is actually loyal not only to a brother country but to its deepest principles. If someone is a humanist and a democrat, and for this very reason he is a friend of the state embodying these efforts, he is also serving thereby his own goals. If someone is an enemy of imperialism and reaction and sees the most promising support of his struggle in the Soviet Union, he is promoting the realization of his most intimate interests. That is, many peoples throughout the world are brought closer to the Soviet Union not by some kind of external compulsion but by inner conviction, service to its own goals and consciousness of its interests.

Two deductions may be made from all this. One is that friendship with the Soviet Union is a natural attitude in the service of progress and the cause of peace. The other is that to undertake the cause, to be active for it but at the same time to oppose the Soviet Union, which is its most consistent representative, and a fighter on its behalf undertaking great sacrifices, are incompatible like fire and water. Herein lies the great political importance of relations with the Soviet Union.

All this does not contradict that in our days the concept of proletarian internationalism and its requirements have broadened. The strengthening of brotherhood with the Soviet Union embraces internationalist solidarity with the community of socialist countries, with the international communist and workers' movement and with the currents of world revolution.

Another feature, prevailing at present, of propaganda inciting to anti-Sovietism is that relations with the Soviet Union are regarded as a watershed from its own point of view. This means it tries to indicate the degree of independence and freedom of any party, state or political grouping by its opposition to the communist party. According to this, any country or party which is opposed to Moscow is "sovereign" or "independent," while any other is not. Behind this attitude lurks the hope that one or another communist party or socialist country will isolate itself from other revolutionary units. This, however, would weaken the international communist and workers' movement.

Gus Hall, the secretary-general of the U.S. Communist Party, put it this way: "On the ideological market of American imperialism, anti-Sovietism is the commodity most in demand. It is a sign of the times that they value anti-Sovietism more highly in a radical left-wing than a right-wing package."

"They are increasingly trying to force anti-Sovietism on us," continued Gus Hall. "They pressure us to show by the use of a 'little' anti-Sovietism that we are 'independent' and 'free.' This is the cost of having American imperialism recognize a party as 'independent.' This is how they drive a wedge in our ranks."

"If we want to gain an 'advantage' by compromises in ideological matters," warned the secretary-general of the American party, "we are only deceiving ourselves. The approach to every problem is the straight path. The principle of proletarian internationalism is latent in the fact that we are not free to disrupt the unity of our ranks with ephemeral advantages."

In the propaganda directed at Hungary, we can also observe the attempt of our political opponents to promote dissolution of the alliance linking us to the Soviet Union. At the time, Janos Kadar reacted to this in an interview with the American news agency, UPI: "In our days, modern civilization has brought the countries and peoples so closely together that...they are constantly living in a community of mutual dependence. The majority of European states carry out their foreign political activity in the framework of international groupings, or through bilateral relations...A foreign policy which ignores the actual situation, the facts which define international relations, or let us say are 'independent' therefrom is unrealistic and actually cannot be carried out."

Bourgeois propaganda links the manipulation of independence and sovereignty with ill-intentioned assumptions about "the leading party" and the "guiding center." In this connection, it is appropriate to quote the thesis stressed by the 23d Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and which was later affirmed by the 25th Congress: "Opposed to any kind of hegemonism in the communist movement, the Soviet Union's Communist Party will fight for true internationalist, equal rights relations among all the parties."

This is also supported by the other brother parties. Here are two examples: At the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Fidel Castro

announced: "The Soviet Union, which extended decisive help to our people, never presented us with any demands, never laid out conditions, and never said what we have to do. In the whole history of international relations conducted through several thousand years there never were such brotherly relations between a mighty country and a small one. Only socialism makes it possible to have such relations among peoples."

In the 10 June 1976 issue of CORRIERE DELLA SERA, Enrico Berlinguer noted: "The Italian Communist Party is completely independent in relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union never made the slightest attempt to direct us as to what we should and should not do, not only in areas regarding Italy but also in areas regarding our activity and participation in the international workers' movement."

There is also no foundation for rumors that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is allegedly seeking to establish a guidance center in the communist movement. At the Berlin conference of the European communist and workers' parties, Leonid Brezhnev announced: "...Someone has voiced concern that the calls directed at solidifying international relations for communist unit represent an effort directed at establishing some kind of organized center. Queer concern. For it is well known that no one anywhere has raised the idea of establishing such a center."

It can be deduced from the indisputable reality that the main efforts of the class enemy are directed at the Soviet Union that the communist parties need constantly to strengthen their solidarity and cooperation with the Soviet people, who are building communism, and with the communist party. The decisive majority of the communist and workers' parties want to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement, and accordingly they develop their relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well. And the other way around, in the politics of those opposed to unity, anti-Sovietism occupies the central place. The reason for this is obvious: the greatest obstacle in the way of their fractional attempts is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

From a political point of view, the most serious is the anti-Sovietism of the Chinese Communist Party leaders as evinced in their attitude and rooted in nationalism. In the official and nonofficial announcements of the Chinese leaders, the anti-Soviet line has become the prevailing one as expressed in the political, diplomatic and propaganda activity of their international life. This was also affirmed by the most recent congress of the Chinese Communist Party.

We deal firmly and on an ideological basis with every form of anti-Sovietism. We bear in mind that nationalism will not automatically cease with the development and formation of a socialist world system. It will still be found for a relatively long time, for socialism is a young organism in which the new and the old are struggling with each other. Nor does the consciousness of man keep pace in every step with the changes of social existence. The Maoist example serves warning because it shows that anti-Sovietism can become a

serious matter anywhere where nationalist attitudes gain ground in the leadership of the state and party and where bold action against it is not only lacking but the efforts are directed at inciting and justifying it. The communist parties working with Marxist-Leninist principles have recognized that a conscious struggle must be conducted against all inimical ideological currents, including the nationalist danger in their own midst.

Anti-Soviet propaganda, as evident in the above examples, has also tried to destroy Hungarian-Soviet relations. It has no effect at the political level. Our party and government regard it as a basic ideological matter that the closely developed, good relations with the Soviet Union and the close cooperation be further developed. This was affirmed most recently by the MSZMP Central Committee in its resolution of 13 April 1977 on the domestic observance of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Bourgeois propaganda also fails to reach its goal in the broad circles of the population. Although nationalist views are expressed in Hungary, too at times, they cannot essentially influence political opinion in this respect. Why not? Because the facts and our own historical experiences confront these attempts. The man of wide vision knows that the friendship of the Hungarian and Soviet people is rich in tradition, and the historical ties are still strong. He does not forget that the Soviet Union was our liberator, and is still today the most secure external support of our development, our tried comrade-in-need and our unselfish partner. The man who thinks soberly on politics values the fact that our eastern neighbor is the greatly influential industrial fighter in the vanguard for the common revolutionary cause and for peace and security, which is a matter of life and death. And therefore he regards the Soviet Union with respect and approves the solid internationalist policy of our party and state.

Today in Hungary, three generations protect and strengthen our brotherly Hungarian-Soviet friendship. The older, middle and younger generations all foster the traditions of the past, respect the experiences of the present, and see therein one of the strong guarantees of our future.

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CSO : 2500

MILITARY DAILY ACCUSES PENTAGON OF SCARE TACTICS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16 Sep 77 p 2

[Editorial by Colonel W. Zielinski]

[Text] September is not only the month of the successive military maneuvers of NATO countries on the territory of Western Europe, in particular in the area of the Federal Republic of Germany. It is also the month of a politico-military offensive of the Pentagon and circles closely associated with it.

Among other things, a "leak" in the form of the summary of a top secret instruction of the Washington administration, published in THE NEW YORK TIMES, that defines the doctrine of the American defense strategy and policy toward the Soviet Union should be considered a signal announcing the beginning of this offensive. The authors of this document, basing on the assumption that the next years will be the continuation of an American-Soviet confrontation, express the opinion that the defense doctrine of the United States should consist of the maintenance of the forces at least equal to those which are at the disposal of the Soviet Union. Thus, while affecting objectivism, at the same time it is being suggested to the American society that the forces that have been hitherto maintained by the United States are far from being equal to those of the Soviet Union. The subsequent parts of this "leak" are but logical conclusions drawn from this assumption. In principle they resolve themselves into the following recommendations: the United States should strive to achieve a high technological superiority, to strive for a still greater support of its European allies in NATO, and increase expenditures for armaments for at least by 3 percent annually. Furthermore, one can read between the lines of the presented doctrine also a hypothetical assumption of possibilities of a conduct of the limited nuclear warfare, and it is not difficult to infer its connection with the planned production of the neutron weapon.

In accordance with the written out script, a few days later another "instrument" was introduced into the "play"--the U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT weekly, which has shocked its readers with the cold-war titles of the two articles: "Is Surprise Attack by the Soviet Union Possible?" and "What Will Happen if the United States Is Attacked?"

From these articles the Americans learn with horror that despite perfection of their intelligence services "it is possible theoretically for the Soviet Union to paralyze the complicated system of communications with the result that their country will become a powerless giant, the leaders paralyzed, and its nuclear arsenal will not be serviceable...." It is true--as the authors say further--that this pessimistic appraisal relates to the early 1970's, and since then many things have changed, but...at present too the situation is not the very best. For, according to the experts, in the first 15 minutes after a nuclear attack, the White House, the Pentagon, and other command centers will be destroyed. By way of consolation, however, they add that the President will be able to take to the air and will fly in his command plane at the altitude of 12-14 km above the earth, whence he might give the order for a counterattack. But, to prevent the self-appeasement of the readers, they are being told that according to the specialists from the Pentagon the procedure devised for the use of nuclear weapons is extremely complicated and requires up to 25 hours. Moreover, "the President might get so bogged down in detail that he will not be able to take in the whole." Although the "experts" did not sum up their reasoning with conclusions they are quite obvious. Thus in the opinion of the Pentagon the whole of this long and complicated procedure of the use of nuclear weapons must be abolished. In their opinion it would be best if some of the military commanders had the right, without excessive formalities, to issue orders to press the proper button and begin the nuclear fireworks on the surface of the globe. Naturally, for the sake of the authority of the "flying" President, who might "get bogged down," he should be curtailed of any powers in this matter. These are not some sensational and new suggestions of the military circles. It is sufficient to remind one of the identical utterances of some NATO generals in Western Europe, including that of Schnell, the general of Bundeswehr.

Finally, Harold Brown, secretary of defense, also had his say in the columns of the same weekly U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT. Not in the least, to reassure his countrymen. Thus, to begin with, he stated that although at present there exists a military equilibrium between the United States and the USSR, but "...within 5 years the situation may be serious." In this subtle manner the citizens of the United States have been forewarned that during the next 5 years they will have to tighten their belts, as increased expenditures for armaments will be necessary. The more so, as Brown is arguing further, because a single system of the strategic retaliatory potential is not sufficient. Then he presented the concept of the strategic triad: submarine launched ballistic missiles, ICBM's launched from the earth and bombers, and bomber-launched missiles. Naturally all missiles are armed with nuclear warheads. And all this is very costly, which the reader of the American weekly should guess himself.

It is true that Harold Brown did not complain of the present complicated system of the use of this strategic potential, but he also did not at all criticize the advocates of its simplification. He also did not speak of instituting an inquiry into the "leak" of a top-secret instruction of the

administration in the matter of the new doctrine and punishment of the "plumbers" who committed it. As a matter of fact this doctrine is not a very new one but only has been presented in a more "spicy" way, and its "leak" has been quite timely, that is during a period preceding the beginning of discussions in the Congress on the matter of the increase of the military budget and increase of expenditures for armaments in the next budgetary year of the United States.

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CSO: 2600

POLAND

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST CHOLERA EMERGENCE OUTLINED

Warsaw WTK (TYGODNIK KATOLIKOW) in Polish No 41, 9 Oct 77 pp 8-9

[Article by Zygmunt Niewinski: "Comma Bacillus from Over the Ganges"]

[Excerpt] Despite the emergence of cholera focal points in several countries, especially Syria, not one case of illness due to this disease has been registered in Poland to date. Despite that, our health service was placed in a state of readiness and full preparation for undertaking preventive measures.

Health-epidemiological service stations, marked with the conspicuous yellow cross, were organized at the border crossings and at airports through which travellers from the endangered zones return to Poland. Every arrival was registered with the notation of date of departure from the endangered zone in order to maintain medical control over him during the incubation period of the disease. The arrivals were also handed leaflets, printed in four languages, containing instructions noting what symptoms precede the eventual emergence of the disease.

Persons returning from the mentioned zones were obliged to hand over food items which were immediately decontaminated and destroyed with the exception of canned items, etc., in air-tight packaging. Control was similarly organized at our sea ports. At the land border crossings, even in the last days of August, health controls were organized with the close collaboration of the Frontier Guard (WOP) stations. All travellers were conforming to the control requirements with complete understanding as none of them were evading them, and the recommended procedure was being strictly adhered to by them.

After the return of the travellers to their place of residence, the appropriate health-epidemiological stations maintain constant contact with them, inquiring if they have noticed any of the specified symptoms. After about a week, the health control ceases; however, the stations advise that even the slightest symptoms which could worry the persons released from control should be reported.

ROLE OF WORKER CONTROL ORGANS DISCUSSED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian No 8, Aug 77 pp 18, 25-29

[Article by Iosif Banc, deputy member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC RCP, chairman of the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activities: "Essential Courses of Action"]

[Text] For Worker Control--A Preventive Character and Higher Efficiency. Meeting in Cluj County.

Continuing the practice of studying specific experience acquired by councils of worker control in efforts to implement the party's decisions and the laws of the state, the tasks and directives handed down by the party's General Secretary Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activities recently organized, with the support of the Cluj County Party Committee, a meeting at Cluj-Napoca; the chairmen and vice chairmen of worker control councils from 18 counties participated in the meeting.

The proceedings were conducted by Comrade Iosif Banc, deputy member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC RCP, chairman of the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activities.

Preceded by a check carried out by the Central Council in economic units in Cluj County, also visits to several enterprises in the municipalities of Cluj-Napoca, Turda and Dej, the meeting occasioned an abundant and useful exchange of experience, yielding methods, forms, and courses of action which add up to many possibilities of perfecting the work style of the worker control councils in performing the important role they must play in all economic and social activities.

Our exchange of experience here at Cluj-Napoca, with the direct help of the party county committee, has analyzed at length a series of important problems in the activities carried out by worker control councils to implement the country's laws and the party's decisions, the extremely valuable tasks and directives handed down by the party's general secretary, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at the working meeting of the CC RCP in December 1976 and the Nationwide Meeting of Working People's Control Units, aimed at strengthening the preventive and constructive character of control and boosting its efficiency.

As has been pointed out at our meeting, as a result of accumulated experience, of the help provided by party organs, the worker control councils are making an increasingly important contribution toward the expansion of efforts to fulfill the plan on the territorial level, toward strengthening responsibility, order, and discipline in administering the property of the community.

As we know, despite the great losses and damages inflicted by the earthquake of 4 March, our national economy continues to develop intensively, at a pace surpassing the stipulations of this year's plan.

We have achieved good results in meeting the targets of the current year's plan, which play an especially important role in the fulfillment of the whole five-year plan. All of this reflects the responsibility with which our party bodies and organizations, party members, and all working people are laboring to implement the measures instituted by party and state officials and by the party's general secretary personally, measures designed to insure integral, exemplary implementation of the program adopted by the 11th RCP Congress to accelerate the development of the country's productive potential and the nation's wealth and to enhance the material and spiritual wellbeing of all our people.

It must be stated, nevertheless, that despite the excellent results achieved this year we still have substantial reserves for producing more goods with greater economic efficiency. I should like to dwell on a number of the priority courses of action in the economic field, because there cannot be any doubt that the identification and efficient utilization of these depends largely on the quality of the work of the worker control councils which, as the party's general secretary emphasized at the Nationwide Meeting of Working People's Control Units early this year, have the duty of promptly seeking out and helping collectives and collective management bodies to liquidate mistakes and violations, to perfect activities.

One vital aspect that draws our attention is the fact that the enterprises, administrations, and sometimes even party bodies and organizations are focusing much more attention on the fulfillment of gross targets, value targets, and manifesting less concern for overall compliance with the structure of the planned output, for exact fulfillment of targets in physical products. On the other hand, some enterprises have the practice

of compensating for failure to fulfill some assortments by overproducing others, especially in categories which require less effort. This indicates a certain lack of discipline in economic activities, against which party organizations and worker control councils must take a firm stand in order to do away with this practice. For this purpose, it is essential that the work plans of worker control councils include analysis and checking into the causes of failure to fulfill physical output plans, wherever this situation arises, instituting technical and economic measures designed to contribute toward making up the lag and fully accomplishing all production output, at the same time bringing to account, in accordance with the law, those who are guilty of failing to complete the targets assigned to them. It will be essential that such analysis and control be exercised both by county, municipal, and town councils, and by economic unit councils.

We emphasize this because the national economy requires not only value production but, above all, physical output; and rigorous compliance with all provisions of the plan largely determines the efficiency of our economic activities. There are also instances in which some enterprises produce goods without any assurance of sales, just in order to fulfill the value plan; all this does is lead to immobilization of funds in excess stocks, with all the negative consequences that flow from this situation.

In taking action to speed up the circulation of working capital, worker control councils must keep track of and lend all their support to collectives set up for this purpose on the county level, in enterprises and administrations, so that these efforts are discharged responsibly and contribute effectively toward reducing the state's financial expenditures, toward better and more efficient management of material and monetary resources in all enterprises.

As you know, in March of this year the Executive Political Committee called for continued broad efforts to take advantage of all possibilities for increasing the workload level of basic machine tools, of all production capacities and production space. It is the duty of worker control, which has become fully involved in this, to insure the implementation of all measures necessary to insure that 1977 marks a turning point with regard to the plan for making better use of the technical potential we possess. By way of carrying out this task, the party's county committees, the economic ministries, and the party's central administrations have taken action to resolve the problems arising in industrial enterprises, to raise the machine tool utilization index, and to put unused machinery, tools, and installations to work. From analyses carried out in the central commission, however, we find that there are still a number of open problems which will have to be resolved with the help of the ministries. At the same time, it is also important that the counties decisively insist on their being completely resolved and, especially, take action to resolve those that depend on the decision-makers of the respective units. It is

a matter of providing manpower, reducing the number of nonproductive personnel and requalifying them, supplying and improving repair and maintenance activities, and so on.

According to central commission data, most counties in recent months have registered indices superior to those of the early months of the year in regard to machine utilization. It is interesting, nevertheless, to note one thing, comrades. Despite the fact that machine tool utilization indices in some enterprises are still low, nevertheless the gross industrial product has been fulfilled and surpassed. Thus, there are enterprises which have an overall index of 60 to 65 percent and nevertheless exceed the plan. From this derives the task that party bodies and organizations and worker control councils must diligently strive to seek out and harness all reserves, and thereby make a more substantial contribution to the development of our national economy.

Naturally, while taking steps to raise the workload level of basic machine tools, the worker control councils must not lose sight of the fact that there are numerous opportunities for utilizing all structural space and putting it into production more rapidly. Estimates indicate that by implementing measures to boost the utilization index of existing production capacities and those to be set up in available space, it will be possible to obtain an additional industrial output of around 20 billion lei in the whole five-year plan, an output level whose realization will require us to work with might and main, applying all the indicated measures.

As the party's general secretary emphasized in his masterful speech at the combined session of the CC RCP, the Grand National Assembly, the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development, and the party and state central active membership in March of this year, "the task of boosting economic efficiency in all branches of material production--an essential objective of the five-year plan--makes it necessary to adopt decisive measures to increase social labor productivity at a pace faster than is stipulated in the five-year plan." The priority attention being focused by our party on boosting labor productivity derives from the fact that, in the last analysis, labor constitutes the wellspring of the nation's wealth, and increasing this wealth and raising the people's standard of living depends on the productivity of social labor.

As you know, in order to insure better flourishing of the technical and human potential which we possess, in order to insure that the growth pace of productivity keeps pace with labor's technical accomplishments, the party's leadership has stipulated as a priority task that of additionally boosting labor productivity over and above the plan's provisions--by 2 to 3 percent this year in industry, and by 4 to 5 percent in construction this year alone. In the first 7 months of 1977, the planned growth target for labor productivity was fulfilled by most of the counties and by the municipality of Bucharest, and in many other counties and in Bucharest an additional growth target of 2 to 3 percent was accomplished. This is a

good beginning, which must, however, be staunchly continued, because some counties have not fully accomplished this objective.

Undoubtedly, in implementing this target at the stipulated level it will be necessary to involve all the efforts of the worker control councils which, under the leadership of party bodies and organizations, are called upon to put forth sustained efforts, to initiate specific political-organizational, technical, and economic actions that are well thought-out and diligently put into practice. In this context, it is essential that they focus their attention, as the party's leadership has directed, on enhancing the concern of each enterprise, section, shop, and workplace for continuously raising the level of mechanization and automation of production processes, for substantially reducing the work volume in auxiliary operations, for more auxiliary personnel going over into directly productive work and thereby providing manpower for a second and third shift, fully utilizing all work time for productive purposes, and strengthening production order and discipline.

Much more attention than heretofore must be focused by the worker control councils on implementing the plan with regard to production costs, especially material outlays, a field in which there are still shortcomings.

With the aim of eliminating this state of affairs, measures have been undertaken to more substantially reduce material consumption, to re-examine all technologies and products in which consumption and functional proportions are higher than analogous ones elsewhere in the world. It is essential that the targets and directives set forth by the party's leadership, as well as stipulated measures, be implemented consistently in all cases. Because--why not say it--there are still enterprises in which we institute a great many good measures which should yield exceptional results, but which we do not carry through, we forget about them on the way and hold all kinds of meetings, draw up plans for measures which, in the long run, are of no efficacy at all. For this reason, the worker control councils must diligently check on how well the enterprises are implementing the measures they have adopted to keep rigorously within the consumption norms and quotas of raw materials, supplies, fuel, and energy stipulated by the plan. In order to avoid overconsumption it is essential that each enterprise organize, as directed, a system for keeping close tabs on consumption levels for each product and fabrication section, and party organizations must analyze, every 10 days or even at shorter intervals, how well consumption norms are being complied with, intervening expeditiously via forms of political-educative labor whenever irregularities arise.

Party and state officials attach considerable importance to providing the necessary technical and material conditions for producing goods of a high technical and qualitative level. As a result, each year substantial progress is made toward adopting and putting into production new products having technical and economic parameters matching the best in the world, toward raising responsibility for the quality of goods produced.

Nevertheless, some shortcomings still persist in this regard. An analysis of the main causes of substandard work indicates that about 60 percent of the defects are due to violations of technological discipline, insufficient technical assistance at the workplaces, and inadequate control over fabrication stages; 34 percent are due to failure to provide all necessary technical and organizational conditions for producing goods at the stipulated quality level. This is due to the absence of SDV's [expansion unknown], AMC's [measurement and control devices], and so on. Reasons for substandard products, in most cases, are factors of a subjective nature: inadequate care to comply rigorously with stipulated technologies and to strengthen labor discipline, against which our party bodies and working people's councils are not taking appropriate measures.

Worker control councils will have to be more closely concerned with quality problems and organize rigorous control in units where most substandard work occurs, and hold persons guilty of it strictly to account. At the same time, it will be necessary for us to extend more support to the county inspectorates for product quality control, so that they can improve their work style and methods and be provided with personnel who are professionally and politically competent.

Overall accomplishment of the production levels stipulated for the current five-year plan in industry, agriculture, and other branches of material production depends largely on implementing the broad program of investments and putting facilities into operation. In this domain, so vital to the dynamism of our economic growth, there are still a number of shortcomings, from the conception and planning of new facilities, the preparation and implementation of construction work, and the delivery and installation of equipment, to the utilization of the work force. As we know, a number of measures have been taken centrally to help intensify the efforts of all elements which are involved in implementing the investment program--planners, advice and approval bodies, builders, and suppliers of equipment. At the direction of the party's leadership in March, the CC RCP keeps daily tabs on the stage of work completion in a large number of investment projects that are most important to the economy. Thus, party organizers have been designated for 56 project sites, including 18 comrades of the CC active and the remainder from among the active members of the party county committees.

Through a recent decision of the Executive Political Committee and directives set forth by party General Secretary Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, new measures have been instituted to intensify activities in the field of investments, in order to completely make up for those remaining behind schedule in the first half of this year.

For all investment projects still lagging behind and with special problems, collectives have been formed out of party, trade union, and UTC [Communist Youth Union] activists, also specialists of local agencies, administered by members of bureaus of party county committees; they make daily analyses

of progress being made in plan fulfillment together with party and enterprise organization officials, and they constantly take action at construction sites to organize the labor better and find expeditious and specific solutions to the problems that arise in the activities of construction and investment projects. Another measure that has been taken is that of seeing to it that in the implementation of large investment projects the first secretary of the county party committee be directly responsible.

Nevertheless, these measures must be coupled with more efficient efforts and actions undertaken locally. For this reason, it is essential that all worker control councils extend direct and immediate aid to local party bodies in intensifying the pace of execution on investment projects, in raising the utilization level of equipment at the sites, by organizing the work in two or three shifts, and strengthening labor order and discipline; at many project sites, these leave much to be desired. Thus, we must focus constant attention on completing durable structures of good quality, with low material consumption levels. At the same time, we must organize control checks and support actions in units furnishing equipment and technological installation; we must keep track of deliveries of these to the project sites in accordance with specified contracts and schedules.

While focusing attention on the economic problems of production units, county, municipal, and town worker control councils are obligated to strengthen control and extend more support to local party and state bodies in properly organizing the supply of goods to the public and providing high-quality services. In this regard, it is essential to intensify routine control in retail commercial outlets and public catering facilities, in vegetable and fruit marketing outlets and markets. In the same way, control checks must be organized in enterprises producing consumer goods. It will be necessary for us to work closely, as the party leadership has directed, with working people's control teams, to initiate control checks jointly with them; in this regard, our activities will have to take on the necessary intensity and dynamism, to rise to the level stipulated by the Nationwide Meeting of Working People's Control Units. Commissions for directing and coordinating the activities of working people's control are in need of more support from county, municipal, and town councils, especially in drawing up the teams' control check schedules, in order to insure the carrying out of verifications in the units in accordance with specifications and during the time stipulated by law. It is especially essential that we help the teams to finalize, on the best possible terms, the conclusions resulting from the control checks carried out. For this purpose, the worker control councils have the duty of closely examining the remarks and proposals made by the teams of working people's control and the commissions for directing and coordinating the activities of working people's control; and these must serve as the basis for stipulating, in accordance with rights conferred by law, compulsory directives and measures designed to eliminate shortcomings that are detected, in order to improve activities and, where necessary, to bring to account and penalize those who are guilty of failure to comply with the laws.

The range of problems and the tasks now assigned to worker control are not confined to these alone. In order to implement them at the level of standards stipulated by the party's leadership, it is essential that, in all organizational structures, worker control councils act with greater firmness with regard to implementation of the party's decisions; they must also organize their activities so as to be in a position not just to detect such irregular situations "post facto," but to be able to prevent violations and deviations, to intervene specifically and immediately in order to insure conditions for completing all tasks.

In the spirit of the party leadership's directives, it will be necessary to extend the practice of carrying out integrated control checks, as mentioned both here and at the preceding meeting, a method which has proved especially effective; we will have to stipulate increased responsibility on the part of the collective management bodies of the enterprises with regard to the tasks and obligations they are responsible for, to provide them with all the necessary help, without, however, taking over their job in resolving the problems that fall within their jurisdiction. It is essential that in all worker control councils more time be allocated to immediate control and support on the spot, in the enterprises. We will have to tackle more boldly and promptly the more difficult and deep-seated problems that arise in the county and various enterprises with regard to fulfilling the targets of the plan, for only in this way will we succeed in extending genuine help to party organs and agencies of collective management in solving these problems.

I should like to emphasize once more, in conclusion, how essential it is for all councils and their members to be involved effectively in the actions we are undertaking, to examine all phenomena with maximum diligence, competence, and responsibility; we must not leave a single unit without instituting specific political, technical, and economic measures designed to insure that shortcomings which are detected will be eliminated, that activities in the particular domain will be substantially improved.

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DECREE ON USE OF EXPLOSIVES IN ECONOMY PUBLISHED

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[Decree] of the State Council on the Regulation of Explosive Materials in the Economy

[Text] The State Council of the Romanian Socialist Republic decrees:

Chapter I
General Provisions

Article 1. The provisions of the present decree apply to the possession, preparation, testing, transit, transmission in any form, transportation, storage, handling and use of explosive materials in the economy.

Article 2. New explosive materials manufactured domestically or imported will be able to be tested and used with the approval of the central body to which the unit that tests or uses them is subordinate.

Article 3. Suppliers will guarantee, by means of certificates, the quality of the explosive materials delivered and will indicate the maximum and minimum temperatures within whose limits they can be transported, stored and handled.

Article 4. The simple explosive mixtures for the consumption necessary to their own production can also be prepared by the authorized economics units, on the basis of the instructions drawn up by the Petrosani Research Center for Mine Safety and advised by the Ministry of Labor.

Article 5. Explosive materials with an elapsed period of guarantee will be able to be used only with the advice of the Petrosani Research Center for Mine Safety or of the Fagaras Chemical Combine.

Chapter II
Registration and Authorization

Article 6. In order to be able to prepare, possess, transport and use explosive materials, the state socialist organizations that by means of the

founding document have as an object such operations are obligated to register at the county militia, or at that of the municipality of Bucharest, as the case may be.

The other socialist units that perform such operations are obligated to obtain the permission of the state territorial inspectorate for labor safety and of the county militia, or that of the municipality of Bucharest, as the case may be.

The cooperative organizations, authorized under the same conditions as the other socialist units specified in the preceding paragraph, can make objects for amusement on a basis of pyrotechnical mixtures, with strict compliance with the technological processes, advised by the specialized bodies of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry.

The authorization is given at the request of the central body or of the executive committee of the county people's council, or that of the municipality of Bucharest, as the case may be, to which the socialist unit is subordinate.

Article 7. The magazines for explosive materials, except for nooks, belonging to the socialist units will be able to operate only after the authorization has been obtained from the state territorial inspectorate for labor safety and from the county militia, or that of the municipality of Bucharest, as the case may be, by means of which the storage capacity is also established.

The state territorial inspectorates for labor safety can advise the temporary exceeding of the authorized storage capacities, by at most 25 percent, for a period of at most 2 months.

Article 8. The state territorial inspectorate for labor safety and the county militia, or that of the municipality of Bucharest, as the case may be, can withdraw the authorization specified in articles 6 and 7, if the legal provisions that were the basis for issuing it are violated.

The withdrawal of authorization entails the interdiction of the right granted to the respective unit to prepare, possess, transport and use explosive materials.

Article 9. The geologic prospecting and exploring sections or crews that possess, transport and use explosive materials are obligated to notify the militia in the locality where they perform the work, as well as the state territorial inspectorate for labor safety, within 48 hours after arriving in that locality.

Chapter III Transportation, Storage, Handling and Records

Article 10. The transportation and handling of explosive materials will be performed under the direct supervision of the personnel authorized as

blasters and only with personnel specially trained and appointed by the management of the unit for these operations.

Transportation from the headquarters of the producer to and from border points will be performed under the supervision of the personnel specially trained and appointed by the management of the unit.

Article 11. Each shipment of explosive materials will be made on the basis of the transportation order issued and signed by the management of the receiving socialist unit.

Transportation from the warehouse to the blasters' nooks and to the workplaces is permitted on the basis of the documents for removing the explosive materials from storage.

Article 12. The loading, transportation and unloading of explosive materials at nighttime are forbidden. Transportation from the producing factory to its own magazines, transportation by rail or water, and transportation performed under the conditions specified in Article 11, Paragraph 2, are exceptions.

Article 13. The transportation of explosive materials in the same vehicle together with other materials is forbidden.

In addition, the access of foreign transportation personnel to the vehicle is forbidden.

The motor vehicles used by the crews for geologic prospecting, well drilling, hydropower and hydrotechnical construction, and repair or construction of roads, railroads and bridges, if they are specially outfitted, are excepted from the provisions of Paragraph 1.

Article 14. The transportation and storage of many types of explosives together are done only under the conditions established by means of the appendix to the present decree.

Article 15. The guard for shipments of explosive materials will be provided by the receiver.

In transportation over distances greater than 5 km the guard personnel will carry firearms.

In the case of transportation of bottled explosive materials, without exceeding at most 10 kg, the armed guard is not mandatory.

The guard for explosive materials in transit on the territory of the Romanian Socialist Republic is provided by the state enterprises that have international transportation and shipment as duties.

Article 16. The magazines for explosive materials of the units that utilize such materials will be positioned, built and outfitted on the basis of the

documentation advised by the bodies specified in the regulatory acts in force and by the state territorial inspectorate for labor safety.

For operating the temporary magazines, those with a duration up to 1 year and the warehouses in which at most 200 kg of explosives are stored, for the blaster's nooks, and for the rooms in which explosive materials for well drilling, articles for hunting, objects for amusement, bolt-driving pistols, flameless fuses and CFR [Romanian railroad] signal flares are stored and handled, the advice on location and the maximum quantity to store, given by the state territorial inspectorate for labor safety, is sufficient.

Article 17. Blasting caps will be stored in buildings or in underground rooms, separated from those in which the explosives proper are stored.

The magazines on the surface with capacities up to 500 kg in equivalent TNT, in which the means of ignition can be stored in the same building with the explosives proper, but in separate rooms, are an exception.

Article 18. The land around the surface or underground magazines for explosive materials not connected with the mine system will be fenced in.

Article 19. The guard for the magazines for explosive materials will be provided with a militarized guard.

At the underground magazines for explosive materials connected with the mine system the arming of the guards is not mandatory.

In the case of the magazines connected with the mine system at which the manager is always in the magazine, the guard during the work schedule can be provided by him.

Article 20. Access to the magazine will be permitted only to the persons with duties in management, handling and control of explosive materials.

Access to magazines is forbidden at nighttime.

The warehouses of the units in which work is also done in night shifts are excepted from the provisions of Paragraph 2.

Article 21. A strict record of the entry, exit and consumption of explosive materials will be kept at the magazines.

Any absence of explosive materials will be immediately reported to the local militia body.

Article 22. The manager of the magazine and his assistant must be blasters and are responsible for correct recordkeeping.

Article 23. Blasting work will be performed only by persons authorized as blasters, except for those who fulfill the functions specified in Article 22.

The inspection of explosive materials, at the producer and at the specialized laboratories authorized for this purpose, will be performed by qualified personnel, the authorization of them as blasters not being necessary.

Article 24. The authorization as blaster is given by the state territorial inspectorate for labor safety.

Chapter IV The Ascertainment and Punishment of Contraventions

Article 25. The acts committed by persons in the socialist organizations, as a part of official duties, if they have not been committed under such conditions that, according to criminal law, they are considered an infraction, constitute a contravention and are punishable with a fine:

- a) From 500 to 1,000 lei, the violation of the provisions specified in articles 9, 10, 11, Paragraph 2, articles 12, 13, 14, 15, paragraphs 1 and 2, and articles 21 and 22;
- b) From 1,000 to 2,000 lei, the violation of the provisions specified in articles 3, 5, 11, Paragraph 1, and articles 18 and 20;
- c) From 2,000 to 3,000 lei, the violation of the provisions specified in articles 2, 7, Paragraph 1, and articles 17 and 19, Paragraph 1;
- d) From 3,000 to 6,000 lei, the violation of the provisions specified in articles 6, 15, Paragraph 4, and Article 23.

Article 26. The contraventional punishments can also be applied to legal entities.

Article 27. The ascertainment of contraventions and the application of punishments are done by the militia officers and noncommissioned officers and by the specialized general and territorial inspectors within the State Inspectorate for Labor Safety.

Article 28. The provisions of Law No 32/1968 on the establishment and punishment of contraventions are applicable to the contraventions specified in the present decree.

Chapter V Final Provisions

Article 29. Control over the possession of, use of or other operations with explosive materials is exercised by:

- a) The bodies of the Ministry of the Interior;
- b) The state general and territorial inspectorates for labor safety;

c) The persons specially designated by the central body to which the unit that uses explosive materials is subordinate.

Article 30. The Ministry of National Defense can participate with specialists in the performance of inspections concerning the transportation, storage and handling of explosive materials at open-pit mines, organized in special situations by the Ministry of the Interior, at its request.

Article 31. Within 30 days after the date of publication of the present decree, the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology will jointly issue "Technical Standards Concerning the Possession, Preparation, Testing, Transportation, Storage, Handling and Use of Explosive Materials in the Economy."

Article 32. Within 1 year after the present decree goes into effect, the ministries and the other central bodies will take steps so that all constructions, installations, equipment, means and apparatus used at present for the storage, transportation, handling, preparation, testing and utilization of explosive materials in the economy correspond to the provisions of the present decree, as well as the standards mentioned in Article 31, within the approved investment volumes.

Within the new investment facilities, the technical and economic indicators for the magazines for explosive materials will be recorded separately and will be subject to approval, in accordance with the jurisdictions specified by law.

Article 33. For the magazines for stock explosive materials belonging to the ammunition- and weapon-producing enterprises subordinate to the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry the provisions of Decision No 604/1974 of the Council of Ministers are applied.

Article 34. The present decree goes into effect 30 days after publication.

On the same date, Decision No 2500/1969 of the Council of Ministers on the regulation of explosive materials in the economy and for the establishment and punishment of contraventions to this regulation is repealed.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman
of the Romanian Socialist Republic

Bucharest, 20 August 1977.
No 297.

Appendix

The Different Types of Explosives and Means of Ignition and Firing That Can Be Stored or Transported Together

- a) Explosives containing more than 6-percent nitroglycerin or nitroglycol, together with safety (flameless) explosives, on the condition of being stored on separate shelves;
- b) Hexogen, together with pentrite, tetryl and mixtures made with them;
- c) TNT, together with amatols and explosives based on ammonium nitrate and containing less than 6-percent nitroglycerin or nitroglycol;
- d) Smoking gunpowders of all kinds, including mechanical mixtures that have slow burning speeds and low smoke emissions, together with explosives based on chlorates and perchlorates;
- e) Smokeless colloidal powders;
- f) Detonating caps of any kind, together with detonating relays;
- g) Detonating fuses based on pentrite, together with the explosives specified in letters b and c, and those based on Hexogen, together with those from letter b;
- h) Hexogen charges, together with blasting powders, used by the well-drilling crews.

Slow-burning fuses can be stored together with any of the explosives specified in letters a-h. In addition, the means of lighting the fuse can be kept together with the explosive materials, except for those in the categories specified in letters a, d and e above.

The means of ignition and lighting can be transported together with the explosives proper, from the magazine to the workplace, by a blaster and with specially outfitted vehicles.

Exceptions to the above provisions concerning the keeping of explosives of different types together are permitted only in:

Warehouses and temporary or short-term magazines with capacities up to at most 200 kg of explosives;

Rooms of warehouses that are outfitted for the storage of explosives remaining unused by blasters at the end of the work shift.

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YUGOSLAVIA

KARDELJ DISCUSSES WORKERS' MOVEMENT, SELF-MANAGEMENT IN PCI JOURNAL

Rome RINASCITA in Italian 9 Sep 77 pp 13-16

[Interview with Edvard Kardelj, member, Presidium, Central Committee, League of Yugoslav Communists, and of Presidium of the Republic, by Adalberto Minucci, PCI directorate, and editor-in-chief Bruno Schacherl]

[Text] Crisis of Capitalism--Eurocommunism--Yugoslav Way of Self-Management

[Question] Contemporary capitalism is going through a crisis which reveals many new aspects because of its spread, its depth, and the difficulty of getting any idea as to any solutions. What are the fundamental characteristics of that crisis in your view? And what tendencies do you think will develop in relations between the state and the economy?

[Answer] The crisis of contemporary capitalism is a process which has been lasting for more than half a century and which is gradually also becoming the crisis of the world as a whole; to us Marxists, to us communists, its origins appear clear and this is why I will not dwell on them. Instead, one is fully justified in asking oneself in what way this crisis, in connection with all of the other factors of economic and social development, transformed the capitalist world, its economic and social structure, and in what ways these changes influenced the position and policy of the working class.

It is a fact that the capitalist world--at least in its most highly developed part, especially in recent decades and specifically after World War II--managed to avoid moments of serious aggravation, in other words, some of the forms inherent in the classical phenomenology of this crisis: I am talking here essentially about the cyclic economic crises of some time ago which were accompanied by bitter social conflicts and serious political crises. Naturally, this evolution was influenced by the development of the production forces and by the greater capacity of capitalism's managing forces to satisfy the economic and social necessities of the working class on a broader scale; but the main fact of this evolution, in my view, resides in the important structural changes which have taken place in the

capitalist system. These changes are such that, while, on the one hand, they clamorously demonstrate the urgency of socialism and facilitate the transition to socialism, they, on the other hand, give the capitalist system a chance to prolong its own historical existence. What is the chief factor that worked along those lines and that influenced the structural changes in the capitalist world? This springs from the parallel development and the reciprocal interlocking relationship of processes such as the enormous national and supranational concentration of capital, the relentless growth of the economic and political power of the monopolist groups, the growth--up to the point of absolute domination of the government--of the technical-managerial stratum of capitalism's structure, the ever broader and ever more direct connections between this stratum and the structure of executive government power, as well as the state's ever greater dependence on the interests of the monopolist top leadership. This is precisely what explains the ever growing role of the state in the economy as an expression of the interests of the capitalist system which took shape in this fashion.

This development of capitalist's structure has brought about not only the birth of national monopolies but also of supranational ones and at the same time there has been a terrible increase in the power of the technocratic-managerial structure in the capitalist world. Conventional, family-type capitalist property has been pushed to the sidelines. The influence of the stockholders on corporation policy keeps declining while the managerial technocracy assumes an enormous role within the system of capitalist property, managing--together with the technocratic-monopolist power--not only its own capital but also foreign capital. The managerial technocracy depends on science, on technical capacity, etc., and consequently seeks to subordinate society's most creative forces to it. But monopolist capitalism and the managerial technocracy above all need a certain type and a certain level of government planning, broader than the kind they can accomplish by themselves, both in terms of the national and in terms of the international context; this is why, to be successful, they subordinate the state to themselves and turn it into an instrument of their own.

Competition between monopolies, which is still going on, in spite of the tremendous concentration we have seen, as well as fear of economic and political crises and many similar factors force the technical-managerial top leadership of the monopolies to fight for an increase in labor productivity and in production. This is why it has in recent decades been especially the monopolist companies which have taken important steps forward in the so-called technological revolution; and this is why monopolist capitalism has become more capable of accepting certain forms of planning and is even interested in such forms because, through this kind of planning, it expects to be able to prevent more serious economic and political crises. In "Das Kapital," Marx had alluded to the possibility that, under certain conditions, the capitalist system could avoid cyclic crises: it could do so precisely if the capitalists were to be capable of agreeing amongst themselves on a certain economic policy. Marx referred to this possibility

as a hypothesis but did not believe that it was realistic because he thought that, on account of antagonism springing from competition and other factors, the capitalists could not agree amongst themselves on a common economic policy. In some way this is precisely what is happening now and it is happening precisely in the way foreseen by Marx as hypothesis, naturally in forms with a quite different complexity.

The principal factor in the development of these tendencies is the state, or rather, its role in the economy. Capitalist society is no longer even scared by the fact that the state is becoming an ever bigger and ever stronger capitalist because, through this role, it plays its very important part in coordinating material growth. In this way it is becoming a specific structure of state-monopoly capitalism. But all of this undoubtedly also strengthens the objective prerequisites for the peaceful transition to certain state-patrimonial forms of socialist production relations.

This also involves some political consequences. Monopoly always tends toward authoritarian power. The latter supports the parliamentary system so long as that system adheres to its interests; but it can also get along without it, when it is no longer capable of protecting its interests. This is why monopoly tends to strengthen the role of the state's executive system and, in extreme cases, resorts to military coups, to the various authoritarian regimes, and, finally, to fascism. The tendency toward the authoritarian political system is not confined to national borders but assumes international dimensions. Today, as a matter of fact, the top leadership of monopoly capital is tied not only to the government machinery within national boundaries; so-called "political cartels," various "clubs," etc., are springing up today with supranational dimensions in which political leaders, managers, professors, etc., are linked together, creating semi-public organizations with great influence on the governments of the capitalist countries. The various public international organizations and institutions in particular are working in that direction; they have become an important factor in the contemporary structure of capitalism. In the final analysis, the development of the contemporary world's political structure is also working in that direction; here, the division into blocs and the bloc antagonisms strengthen the power of the superpowers and their influence over political developments also within the various blocs. These and similar tendencies, organizations, and institutions stimulate the approval of diverse international understandings which mitigate the economic crises but which also influence political events and developments throughout the world. In this way, the governments also become capable of implementing a certain international plan, at least in order to resolve the most serious problems inherent in the crisis. But this naturally means shifting its consequences to the working class, to the people, and to the undeveloped countries and also to that part of the capitalist economy which cannot keep up with the monopolies in terms of labor productivity.

A tendency to reduce the role of Parliament, particularly in decision-making processes, emerges contemporaneously in relation to all of these phenomena. The state--or, better, the executive branch--on the one hand plays a certain positive role in the mitigation of crisis phenomena but at the same time it is increasingly becoming the direct instrument of the capitalist and monopolist technocracy. This leads to the birth and constant growth of the alienation of the masses from all forms of management, both with regard to the state and with regard to society and labor. Only yesterday, when the factory owner was the capitalist, there was a certain direct contact between him and the workers, in spite of their antagonism; today, instead, the managerial centers of the big national and supranational corporations are becoming further and further removed so that we might almost call them mystical, in other words, further and further away not only from the manual worker but also from the engineer, from the intellectual, and from Parliament, to the extent that Parliament is losing its real role in society and to the extent that the power of that authority grows beyond Parliament, that is, power represented here by monopoly capital and certain, relatively restricted government structures in the executive branch.

[Question] But countertendencies are also taking shape in the capitalist West.

[Answer] Precisely. First of all, the processes which I have described so far are coming increasingly into conflict with the interests of the working classes, the popular masses, and the nations and also with some portions of the national bourgeoisie. The resistance that springs from that provokes new forms of crisis in capitalism. In opposition to these tendencies toward the alienation of man from any direct influence upon the management of labor, of society, and of his own life, as a matter of fact, there springs up a specific movement of the masses who demand that they become the political, social, economic, and cultural subject in society. The stepped-up pressure from the masses is expressed, on the one hand, in their demands for greater influence over the political parties and over Parliament as well as a greater social role in Parliament and for the limitation of the power of capital outside Parliament and, on the other hand, in terms of demands for certain forms of self-management and direct participation by the workers, by the working people, by the citizens, in the handling of issues that would be in the fundamental interest of their life but above all in the field of social-economic relations, in local self-management, in the aspiration toward greater autonomy, decentralization, etc. We are not dealing here as a matter of fact with an organized revolt of the masses; only an organized worker movement can give it consciousness and conscious aspirations. This is an unorganized revolt against the characteristic process of our time, the process of the alienation of man from all forms of management of society.

I think that, in a certain sense, we can include in all of this also those secondary, parallel, and negative phenomena of that same process which are represented by the various forms of ultraradicalism, of terrorism, the

slogans of the extreme left, etc. It is a characteristic fact that the carrier of these phenomena is not the working class, in contrast, for example, to the 19th century, when anarchism was an expressly worker phenomenon, but rather all of the intellectuals who, in some countries, are getting together with the most pauperized, semi-peasant, semi-proletarian strata. The social position of the intellectuals has become a specific problem and at the same time a very acute problem in modern society. It is a problem which is not characteristic only of the developed capitalist world but, to some extent, also of socialist society in our time. The number of educated persons has increased enormously. But at the same time, the overwhelming majority of those intellectuals has lost its position of yesteryear as an intermediate stratum between the working class and the bourgeoisie and finds itself in the same wage-earning conditions as the manual worker. The intellectuals are becoming an integral part of the working class in the true sense of the word. In short, the intellectuals are finding themselves in a condition where they must mechanically execute work assignments which are dictated to them by a "remote" center, over which they are no longer in a position to exert any direct influence. The intellectuals rebel against this kind of condition. There is much that is progressive in this rebellion against wage relations, against capitalist exploitation, and against the alienation of man from the management of his own work and his own social interests and all of this ties the intellectuals also to the worker movement. But there can also be much that is reactionary here, especially when intellectuals tend to dissociate themselves from the working class and the worker movement and when they tend once again to acquire a special social position between the working class and the bourgeoisie, something which is really not realistic. The mixing of the two tendencies creates specific movements of intellectuals in the contemporary world which are expressed either in various forms of ultraradicalism, both in the social field and in the libertarian sense, or in so-called intellectual "elitism" and in demands for a leadership role for the intellectuals in society. I think that this is a transitory phenomenon: the reactionary side of the movement of intellectuals will readily become involved in an ever more acute confrontation with social reality and will continue to lose its own force. This will even further direct the specific rebellion of the intellectuals toward a link with the worker movement. The processes now underway among the intellectuals are once again evident proof of the fact that all of the theories on the growing role of the so-called "middle class" are unrealistic.

Thus the current level of the capitalist world's crisis is expressed very clearly in the political field. This is so because the policy of so-called "Eurocommunism" is a policy which is expressly necessary and urgent for the present time. This is so because the communist parties and the worker movement in general will be able to become the political factor and the leading force in that pressure of the masses only if they manage to become a part of that pressure early. In my judgment however there is a limit to the policy of Eurocommunism: in other words, an insufficient commitment in developing other forms of mass struggle in order to penetrate the

entire social system and not only just Parliament. I am referring here above all to other forms of the struggle of the working class and the worker masses for democratization and hence for a change in the system of social-economic relationships, in other words, through self-management in the factories, in the regions, in the communes, in the local communities, etc., in short, in those areas of social life which in reality are beyond the parliamentary system, under the direct control of monopoly capital.

The crisis of the capitalist world has become more acute above all as a result of the breakup of the colonial system. The colonial system crumbled in a relatively short time; this is evident proof that its liquidation had already become a long-term necessity of contemporary monopoly capitalism itself. The colonial system first of all became a heavy political burden to the countries that had colonies because the struggle of the nations for their liberation constituted too much of a burden not only politically but also economically. Moreover, the parcellized colonial empires became an obstacle to the tendencies of modern monopoly capitalism which needs a free and large world market for goods and capital. However, not even this process took place in harmony with the interests of monopoly capital. The underdeveloped countries, which yesterday were still colonies, refused to become an appendix of the market of the developed countries and rejected conventional forms of importing foreign capital which signify direct exploitation. This is one of the origins of the "North-South" conflict, of the conflict between the developed and the underdeveloped countries; a conflict which is not only economic but also political and which represents one of the origins of the movements of the nonaligned countries; this, by the way, is not the only reason since the movement of the nonaligned countries is also an expression of resistance against the hegemony of the big powers of all kinds and against the division of the world into blocs. But one of the principal moving forces behind the movement is of course the struggle to close the abyss existing between the developed countries and the underdeveloped countries, as well as for the liberation of nations from all forms of economic and political dependence.

The underdeveloped and nonaligned countries demand a new economic order throughout the world. Naturally, this is a long-term objective but it points up the tendency in the struggle of the underdeveloped and nonaligned countries. Thus confronted with a new situation, the leading forces of the developed countries still hesitate to come to grips with these demands and to display a readiness to come to terms, that is to say, to solve the problems of international economic relations by common agreement. The socialist countries, finally, are not fully aware of the historical significance of this worldwide conflict.

This hesitation has negative consequences both for the developed countries and for the underdeveloped countries. The entire process of international capital and commodity circulation is as a matter of fact deformed. The export of the capital of the developed countries to the rest of the world is relatively at a low level and that naturally quite substantially slows

down the increase in the consumption capacity of insufficiently developed countries and therefore also the rise in the labor productivity of the developed countries which are capable, through their own production potential, to supply a much bigger market than they cover today. This is precisely why the developed countries are relatively oversaturated with capital and therefore tend to orient themselves above all toward an increase in their own consumption. Many people today criticize the so-called consumer society. But the consumer society is the inevitable product of the current state of social-economic relations throughout the world.

Now we might say that the conflict between the developed and underdeveloped countries, as well as the struggle for a new economic system throughout the world, represents the expression of the crisis of contemporary capitalism and, at the same time, the factor which causes this crisis to grow in depth. For all of these reasons and for many others--primarily because of the antagonisms in its internal structure--contemporary capitalism has not managed to get control of the economic origins of the crisis, in spite of the commitment of the state and the other methods of coordinating the interests of the leading bourgeoisie. Although we no longer have the classical cyclic crises, the so-called "recessions" have in reality become a permanent phenomenon.

Hence, all of these phenomenal forms of the crisis of contemporary capitalism point the conscience of the popular masses toward socialism as the only way to get out of this crisis. This development opens for the worker movement the perspective of its link-up with the broader democratic forces and that even further increases the rich nature of the road to socialism. I think that the force of this so-called Eurocommunism consists in the fact that it has gained an awareness of this truth.

[Question] There is however also talk of a crisis of Marxism. Can we say that it can clarify the complexity of current social processes throughout the world? And how do the Yugoslav communists evaluate the possibility of collaboration between the communists and the socialists and social democrats in Western Europe?

[Answer] The fact is that contemporary Marxism is not always capable of theoretically illuminating the complexity of present-day social processes. But in my view, Marxism cannot be in a crisis by virtue of its scientific content; instead, in reality, it is the Marxists who are in a crisis. A historical situation has developed, as a matter of fact, in which Marxism--which is not only a science but also an ideology in the broadest sense of the word--has been expressed, on the one hand, as the ideology of dogmatic Stalinism and, on the other hand, as the ideology of social democracy which in reality is a form of empiricism. Both of these forms of ideology, which for a long time have been dominant forms, are in the midst of a crisis today. Stalinism, for reasons which we are all familiar with: in other words, first of all, because most highly developed socialist practice and the grown forces of socialism no longer support the initial forms of the revo-

lutionary movement which Stalinism has transformed into dogmas. Socialist practice is subjected to the internal antagonisms and conflicts which are resolved in different ways in the socialist countries and the struggle for socialism on the current level of social development throughout the world is also taking place and is being expressed with a great wealth of methods, in a variety of dimensions, and along a plurality of roads. Today, the principal, decisive historical topic for Marxism is not so much the problem as to what capitalism is going to turn into but rather the problem of the further development of socialist practice itself, that is to say, the problem of how to resolve the antagonisms and conflicts which arise within it. But, as a science, in the field of the analysis of the movement of the development of socialist society and its antagonisms and conflicts, Marxism is too much under the influence of the interests of socialist practice, conceived in a pragmatic fashion. This is also why a free, creative, constructive dialogue among comrades, a Marxist dialogue, is created very slowly and with great difficulties among the Marxists of the socialist countries and the other countries who operate under different conditions and come up with different responses to the antagonisms and conflicts which arise in the individual countries.

I think that such a free, responsible, and constructive dialogue on the contemporary problems of socialist practice is indispensable. Instead, there still exist many ready-made formulas and labels, many evaluations of practices elsewhere, according to each group's own model and many generalizations of one's own practice and even rough clashes. We naturally do not want to provoke any unnecessary controversy among the socialist countries and this is why we do not want to force our way of seeing things on anybody, although we are not satisfied with this state of affairs in this field. It is however true that the situation is an indication of the great backwardness in contemporary Marxist thinking.

I feel that this situation of Marxist thinking in the socialist countries had a negative effect also on the growth of Marxism in the worldwide worker movement in general. But one can indeed assert that Marxist thought until a short time ago was quite a bit behind, when it was necessary theoretically to cast light upon the structural changes and new phenomena in the contemporary social and political life of the world. However, I do have the impression that this situation has very recently been evolving rather quickly toward the better.

But on the other hand likewise, in my view, social democratic Marxism is in a crisis simply by virtue of the fact that capitalist society is in a crisis, a society which, in the struggle for its own survival, is threatening that political system which, for social democracy, was the only possible framework for the struggle for socialism, that is to say, parliamentarianism and parliamentary democracy. Moreover, social democracy is forced to confront the same pressure of the masses which I talked about earlier and that applies for all these societies and in all fields of social life. But the working class and the broad popular masses want to become the

historical subject and are putting on the agenda not only economic and social demands but the issue of their role in the management of their own work, in social production and reproduction: in other words, they are opening up the struggle against capitalist production relations in a new way. They are no longer disposed to be content with the monopoly of the political parties over politics and they reject the dogmas on the centralized parliamentary state as the only possible form for the implementation of socialism.

Still, I am convinced that, as far as Marxism is concerned, this involves only a transitory crisis, if we can call it that, a crisis which was provoked by the fall of the gods who have existed so far. As it always happens in history, delusions are gradually created: the crisis of Stalinist "Marxism" was accompanied by the escape into various illusions or downright into the past, that is to say, into the ideology of bourgeois society; the crisis of the other form is accompanied instead by revolts without any preestablished order, by terrorism, etc. In my view, phenomena such as Eurocommunism and changes which spring up in the policy and practice of the worker movement as a whole, demonstrate that Marxist thought undoubtedly will find its own authentic roads, that it will be consolidated and that it will rid itself of the burdens of the past which weigh upon it, recognizing not only the right but also the inevitability of different ways and means in the struggle for socialism.

We Yugoslav communists have committed ourselves--precisely in an effort to seek a common democratic platform for the purpose of getting out of this crisis--throughout the entire postwar period to the task of developing certain forms of cooperation also with the socialist and social democratic parties. In this, our policy, we primarily start from two positions. First of all, from the theoretical position which was written down already by Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto," when they said that the communists are not a special party as compared to the other parties but constitute that vanguard force of the working class which is capable of seeing and representing the interest of the entire worker movement. Naturally, this thought of Marx must be taken in terms of its content, not in terms of the letter. In the parliamentary system of a bourgeois state, the working class necessarily had to organize itself in political parties of a parliamentary type. But, although historical development did follow this road, that does not mean that the communists, in other words, the Marxists, could shut themselves off in the framework of their own party and their own short-term interests, without harming the long-term interests of the working class and the movement, overall. This is precisely where, in my opinion, we come to the vanguard role of Marxism and the communist parties. We communists therefore can agree on some issues with the social democrats whereas on others we cannot agree; but one cannot deny that social democracy is also a part of the worker movement although it is possible that there may be individual groups, in those parties, which do not have much in common with Marxism and with the revolutionary tradition of the worker movement.

Our second position instead consisted in estimating that social democracy is a political factor which strengthens democracy's positions in the capitalist countries. The struggle for the maintenance of democratic institutions is an essential point, a vital elementary necessity for the worker movement in the capitalist countries. Naturally, there are differences and sometimes they can be very big or downright insuperable. But we also think that it is necessary to fight for unity where it is possible, to create unity amid diversity, such as the communist parties are seeking it today in reciprocal relationships. We cannot see any other way out. Naturally, we also need collaboration with all of the other democratic forces, not only with the social democrats.

[Question] Do you think that the growing influence of the new political subjects in Europe could continue at the present rate or is there perhaps a danger that authoritarian regimes might take hold somewhere? How can relations between the two blocs influence this process?

[Answer] I am convinced that the mass movement, which is now emerging in Western Europe, viewed in long-range terms, will also continue in the future. The terrorist and similar pressures are an expression, on the one hand, of a transitory crisis in the worker movement itself and, on the other hand, of the antagonisms among the blocs which naturally exert a very strong influence on the force relationships within the individual countries.

But it is also true that the reactionary part of the capitalist world will employ almost any form of struggle against the pressure of the masses and above all against the fact that the communist parties are assuming an effective role in the government system. This is why I think that it would be realistic to expect the national as well as international bourgeoisie to resort also to coups d'etat and militarist, authoritarian, semifascist, or fascist measures, etc., in serious crises, also in particular because it is not only the social system and the political influence of the working class over government policy that are at stake here but also the balance of power between the blocs. Interference in the internal affairs of other countries, subversive actions, support for terrorism and destruction, etc., are becoming habitual methods in contemporary international politics, to such an extent that one can already almost speak of a silent war conducted with the instruments of economic, political, ideological, and terrorist as well as other subversion. I think that Italy is today the victim of such methods. But this is not happening just by chance because the PCI [Italian Communist Party] is the strongest Communist Party in the West and, in truth, the party that is closest to power. Yugoslavia is also fighting against similar pressures, similar to those which are today manifested in Italy and in other countries throughout the world. We also feel the burden of that war on our shoulders which makes it essentially difficult to achieve the democratic consolidation of socialist self-management. But this is why we must also keep in mind that aspect of events in the contemporary world and all of the dangers deriving from that for socialism and democracy; failing to see them and failing to defend oneself against them would constitute extreme naivete and political irresponsibility.

[Question] How is socialist democracy developing in Yugoslavia, especially in the light of the law on associated labor and the anticipated changes in the political system?

[Answer] The development of our political system does not involve any essential novelties but rather its adaptation to the changes that have taken place in the system of production relations, in other words, in social-economic relations, through the Constitution, through the law on associated work, and through other related laws and measures.

Because of the character of socialist production relations, the decisive thing is who manages the so-called "social capital" and in what way. I am using the term here to facilitate understanding; in reality I am referring to accumulation, to that accumulated, socialized labor which becomes a means of social production and also a means for the reproduction of social property. This is so because he who has social capital in his hands can subordinate also the worker to the interest of that capital, even if this involves a socialist society. Naturally, one cannot consider the socialist state to be equal to a capitalist society. But if, in the socialist state, technocracy and the government and economic machinery assume too much power, then the worker will not have many possibilities left for positively influencing the management of social capital. And he who manages this capital at the same time also manages his work.

In developing self-management, we went through two phases and we are now in the third. In the first phase, self-management was developed above all at the base, in the shops and factories, in the communes and in various other self-managed communities. But the management of social capital, in other words, accumulated, socialized labor, that is to say, the management of accumulations for enlarged reproduction, was still beyond that system and was a monopoly of the state. The dimension of this social capital and its use were established by means of laws. This centralism was indispensable for society in that phase, first of all, because during that period of time we had just begun to create the economic base for faster socialist growth and, second, because we had just barely begun to develop self-management as an integral social system. But the phenomena of technobureaucratic monopoly and of arbitrary procedure were more frequent precisely during that period of time, notwithstanding the numerous positive results that were achieved.

To avoid such phenomena and to shift the management of social capital closer to the workers, we implemented the radical decentralization of the social capital assets to the work organizations, that is to say, to the factories and shops, during the second phase. This decentralization was a very strong stimulus in the struggle for greater labor productivity and encouraged the production and economic initiative of the work organizations. But we did not yet have all of the experience necessary to be able to guarantee the control of the workers over this decentralized management of social capital and resistance against such solutions was still strong. This is why, during

this second phase, the management of social capital was primarily in the hands of the administrative agencies, that is to say, the various managements of the factories and the shops and of the economic associations. This administrative apparatus often--to a lesser or greater degree tied to the government machine, according to the logic of social capital management itself--exerted excessive pressure upon the workers regarding the dimension of socialist accumulated labor to be separated from the total of social capital. Moreover, on the basis of this managerial concept of the management of social capital, there tended to develop a new form of social capital centralization, this time in the hands of the administrative apparatus of the factory which took over that function in the name of self-management.

Worker dissatisfaction, which was expressed in various social and political conflicts in the factories, suddenly called our attention to the fact that the decentralization of social capital management had not filtered down to the worker, although that was his right. The opponents of socialist self-management tried to benefit from that situation in order to attack self-management as a system. They tried to revive the nationalistic reactionary, Cominformistic, bourgeois-liberal, and similar tendencies.

At the beginning of the seventies we, so to speak, had a little political crisis which we had to resolve rather drastically. But we did not stop merely with political measures. We had decided on a reform of the system of social-economic relations and of relations between the republics and within the political system which signified a strengthening of the direct control of the workers both over production and over enlarged social reproduction, that is to say, over the management of social capital. After that we went on to the third phase in the development of socialist self-management which was opened up first of all by constitutional amendments--the so-called worker amendments--and then by the new Constitution and the law on associated work.

According to the new system, the entire yield from production and all forms of social reproduction, that is to say, the income of the banks, of the insurance institutions, etc., likewise must always be returned to the base organization of associated labor. In other words, neither the banks, nor the insurance companies, nor the managements of the associated work organizations (the factories and shops) and the composite organizations of associated labor (the integrated companies), etc., can have resources of their own which they could dispose of as they see fit. In this fashion, the workers in the base organization of associated labor--these are not even factories but are parts of factories constituting an autonomous portion of the labor process--acquire full control over capital; and that is not all; they also can direct the use of such capital.

When these provisions were read superficially abroad, they deduced that we had broken up and atomized our economy into a series of mini-organizations. In reality we speeded up the process of integration because the income of

the base organizations always flows into each one of them and therefore is once again associated on the various levels for common projects, for common plans, etc. But any association of resources can come about only with the approval of the workers of the base organization of associated labor, that is to say, the administrative agencies and the technical services must really make absolutely sure that the workers in the base organization of associated labor will have every motivation for deciding on the association of means [resources] for a certain project which is of common interest.

This is where difficulties crop up, above all in the beginning: sometimes, the narrow, parcel or local interests predominate and at other times the administrative agencies decide in an arbitrary fashion. But in substance this system works well because the worker is now in the position of a person who, deciding to invest portions of his income in another organization (which may also be in another republic), in return gets the common yield from common investments; as a matter of fact, a portion of that accumulated labor is returned also in his own personal earnings. From the common income, which he creates together with the other workers in the base organization, he takes, in accordance with the law, a portion of the income earmarked for the various general social necessities; what remains represents the net income of the basic organization of associated work. The workers in the basic associated work organizations autonomously and by themselves decide on the distribution of the net income in three categories: the personal income fund (wages), the common consumption fund in the collective (for example, housing construction, vacations, child shelters, community feeding facilities), and the fund for accumulation.

Many ask us whether it is really possible in practice for the workers by themselves to redistribute the income of the work organization, whether they themselves establish the personal income figure. This is precisely what has been happening hereabouts for quite some time--and with success. The worker is interested in investments because only through investments can he plan a better personal income for himself, only this way can he increase labor productivity and meet his own necessities and those of the community. He knows that he will lose ground and that his income will diminish if he does not invest. Naturally, the discussions are often quite hot. The workers do not always know how to hold on to their own increased personal income, during a certain period of the plan, through the viewpoint of their own dependence on the dimension of accumulation, in other words, investments; this is true especially of workers who at the same time are still peasants. But the vast majority of the workers is becoming aware of that now. In this decision-making process, moreover, the workers must be helped with information and with the necessary arguments and it is necessary to develop among them an awareness of solidarity to prevent substantial differences in personal incomes deriving from the same kind of work. But, as a result of the new system in the process of attaining and distributing personal income, the labor unions have also acquired a great role, spelled out in the Constitution; together with the government and with the chamber of economy, the labor unions stipulate the so-called social understanding through which

they establish general criteria both for maximum incomes and for minimum incomes and within those limits, personal incomes are established by the workers themselves. Naturally, the workers are not obligated to stick to those limits; but the awareness of worker solidarity and of social responsibility for a healthy economic growth nevertheless exerts such influence that cases of serious differentiations from social undertakings are relatively rare.

To a foreigner, this labor union role might seem abnormal and contradictory by virtue of the fact that the workers by themselves, through the worker councils, decide on the distribution of income. But the labor union must operate not only as the defender of a single work collective, but also as the defender of the common interests of the working class with regard to the partial interest of a single worker or a single base organization of associated work.

The association of resources according to common plans however takes place in the following manner. You cannot pick up just any plan if it has not first been confirmed through referendum by the workers in each of the base organizations whose resources contribute to common projects. Thus we can say quite truthfully that, in our land, social capital is managed by the workers and by no other force outside or above them, in other words, not by the government machinery, nor by the managerial apparatus. In practice naturally we still have cases where we slide back into the old-line relationships. Many decisions of this nature require much knowledge. Where the workers are not sufficiently informed, it also happens that the management structures present the data to them in such a way that the workers vote for something which is not even in their own interest. But cases of this kind are less and less frequent; this happens primarily in the smallest and most backward organization while phenomena of this kind are now relatively rare in the nucleus of our associated work.

The consequence of all this is that the political situation is substantially improved among the workers. It is as a matter of fact important in the situation of inflation which exists also in Yugoslavia. The workers as a matter of fact by themselves adjust their own personal incomes to the rise in the rate of inflation. Up to a certain point, this does create difficulties for us in economic policy and in the fight against inflation; but on the other hand, the political atmosphere is better and we do not have any more serious social conflicts. This is the atmosphere through which the workers can evaluate the opinions of the social and political organizations, according to which it takes a certain degree of caution in the distribution of income because an excessive increase would cause their own situation to deteriorate.

This is the substance of the changes introduced through the Constitution and through the law on associated work. It had grown a lot even before that but now it is developing in depth and it is being stabilized. In other words, we are now working toward a further development of our political-institutional

system, we are working on its adjustment to the new social and economic relations.

[Question] What are the concrete terms of this adaptation?

[Answer] At the base of the political system we have the concern for self-management or, better, the interest of the self-managed communities, because socialist self-management has become an integral social system--from the bottom, through the commune, through the republic, the autonomous region, all the way to the Federation. We have three types of self-managed communities: the organizations of associated work; the self-managed communities of interest; the local communities, the communes, and the social and political communities, in general. The self-managed communities of interest are organized in terms of social activities: schools, culture, public health, social welfare, etc., in other words, sectors which have been completely "destatized" [removed from government]. In the two-chamber assemblies of these communities we find collaborating, on a footing of parity, the delegations of those who finance these activities and those who render services there. For example, the community of self-managed interests for public health has its assembly, with two chambers; in the first one, we have the workers in material production; in the second one we have the workers of the sanitary organizations. On a footing of parity, they agree on the prices to be charged for services pertaining to public health, on the method of financing the development of public health services, etc. The assemblies of self-managed interest communities exist on the communal level and on the republic level, whereas they do not exist within the Federation. The same can be said for the sector of education and for other social activities. Here the state only has the function of intervening in case agreement is not arrived at among the partners; in that case, the state, through its own proceedings, establishes a minimum contribution necessary to preserve a certain activity, for example, the minimum degree of sanitary service.

Here we must recall that the fact that the worker has control over social capital, over accumulated labor, creates certain friction in some parts of the strata that are not closely tied to the production process. This is now a considerably reduced phenomenon; but, during a certain period of time, we encountered resistance in the sector of social activities, in a portion of the education sector, in public health, science, culture, etc. Some individual persons and groups opposed the direct tie-in, or in other words, the dependence of these activities on other organized workers in material production according to the principle of self-management. It was in their interest for the state to continue to gather the resources, to finance, and to make decisions and it was in their interest for them to be able to continue to exert pressure on the state; now, instead, it is society which asks them that they get together and agree with those to whom their services are destined. But here we also come to the problem of reciprocal relations between the working class and the other strata. The situation in our country now is such that practically all people who work are in an

equal situation, enjoy the same rights, and have the same obligations. Since we have no possibility for the exploitation of labor--except in a few rare cases which are hardly of any importance--it is in practice not necessary for anybody, in the broader sense, to belong to one or the other stratum of workers. Naturally, we do have differences among the various strata, for example, the intellectuals who have the highest personal incomes, on the one hand, and unskilled laborers, on the other hand; and we also have some bureaucratic tendencies, etc. All of this creates conflicts which will continue for a long time to come. But the essential thing is the fact that the entire population is, by law and in practice, placed in the same position and that this creates a closer link among the intellectuals and the manual workers because they depend on each other.

Now we come to the principal issue: how to make sure that all of these self-managed communities will live democratically and will express their own interests in a democratic manner, will confront them and implement them democratically. This is the role of the system of delegation which is the main support of the political system: we have abolished the system of deputies, which belongs to the system of political party pluralism, replacing it with the pluralism of the interests of the self-managed social subjects. Every self-managed community has its own delegation which, from among its midst, elects the delegate and sends him to the assemblies. In some republics, these delegates are permanent, while in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, we have a flexible mandate, that is to say, the delegation may send a different delegate for each issue. The system works in the same way also in the self-managed interest communities or in the associated work set-up; for example, the delegations of the base organizations of associated work have their own delegates in various organs of the composite organizations of associated work, etc. The delegate assemblies in reality are the skeleton for the entire political system of self-management.

Self management has pervaded all walks of life. The entire organization of society is based on the autonomous self-managed communities of various types and their reciprocal direct relations, while the delegate system, above all with the delegate assemblies in the communes, in the republics, and within the Federation, unites these self-managed communities within an integral social system which at the same time becomes the repository of state power. In this way we implement Marx' thought on the socialist state during the period of transition which, in his opinion, should be "the working class organized as a state"; naturally, we have the fact here that, under our conditions, the working class, in this system, is closely tied together with the peasants and with the other working people, in other words, with the entire rest of the people, because in Yugoslavia we do not have individuals who are not tied to one or the other self-managed community, with the exception of those who dissociate themselves from that by themselves.

Naturally, this system would function exclusively in an empirical and pragmatic manner if it were not open to all creative influencing factors and, first of all, to all of the progressive movements in socialist social cons-

science. This is why, in this system, the role--as we said before--of the subjective factor of socialist social conscience is very important. In this concept we include the social-political organizations, such as the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, the labor unions and many other social organizations, which we have many of in this country, but also science, technical services, culture, etc. In our delegate system, we also include the delegations of these social subjects. These delegations are the equal partner, in the democratic decision-making system, of the other delegations of the self-managed communities; but they are that only when it comes to deciding on a limited portion of things which otherwise are within the competence of the delegate assemblies. In summary, they do not, so to speak, have a monopoly of political, government power. The position of these organizations enables them, within the delegate system, successfully to fight to make sure so that the key positions in the state apparatus will remain in the hands of the socialist forces, in other words, the working class, in its connection with all of the other strata of workers.

In this system, the assemblies of the communes, of the republics, and of the Federation are no longer an instrument of indirect democracy in the hands of one or several political parties. Our democratic political system is neither a multiparty system, nor a single-party system; instead, it is based on the direct democracy of self-management. We call it the system of self-management democracy but we could also call it a system of the democratic pluralism of the interests of self-management because the delegations, in other words, the delegates of the mass of self-managed communities, in the delegate assembly, directly coordinate their own interests between themselves and with the common social interests. Under our conditions, that is to say, under the conditions of a society in which the capitalist system has been abolished due to a profound popular revolution, this system of direct self-management democracy is undoubtedly incomparably more progressive than any other form of the classical multiparty or single-party system. We furthermore believe that this system is open toward the future because it cannot exist if the dimensions of liberty are not constantly broadened.

Naturally, our society still has some limits in terms of the development of this democratic system. Not even socialist society is free of conflicts. Our social conflicts spring from the antagonisms and difficulties in economic growth--because we are still a semideveloped country; they spring from the antagonism between self-management and the techno-bureaucratic, centralist-state, and similar tendencies; they spring from the unbalanced economic development of the various parts of the country; they come from the still relatively strong mentality of old Yugoslav society; they arise from Yugoslavia's specific foreign policy position and from the various pressures which are being exerted upon it, etc. The consequences of these conflicts naturally manifest themselves also in the form of political confrontations with the adversaries of socialist self-management, of national equality and unity, as well as our policy of independence and nonalignment in international relations. These conflicts readily slow down and sometimes even distort democratic relations in our society. We are all profoundly convinced that--

with the further stabilization of our political system of self-management democracy, of the democratic pluralism of self-management interests--the influence of these factors on our democratic practice will decline continuously.

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LOCAL DEFENSE VIEWED IN LIGHT OF LAW ON ASSOCIATED LABOR

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[Article by Milorad Bogdanovic, deputy chairman of the Commission for Nationwide Defense and Social Self-Protection of the Presidium of the Council of Yugoslav Trade Unions]

[Text] The Law on Associated Labor has exceptional importance for all domains of life in this society, and that also applies to nationwide defense and social self-protection, which are an inseparable part of our social system and thereby also of associated labor, which is one of its essential elements. The Law on Associated Labor reiterates the principle that defense of the country is one of the basic rights and duties of workers and all the working people. It also makes a further contribution to the process of socialization of defense affairs, which is set forth in the LCY Resolution on Tasks of the LCY in Nationwide Defense, Security and Social Self-Protection, which was adopted at the 10th LCY Congress, as a revolutionary process and a lasting interest of the working class and the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia.

The Law on Associated Labor states so that there can be no doubt that the worker in associated labor has a direct and decisive role in those affairs of nationwide defense and social self-protection which are decided on in basic organizations of associated labor and other forms whereby labor and assets are pooled, as well as in broader sociopolitical communities. This creates the necessary conditions and provides a guarantee that nationwide defense will more and more become an integral part of the social relations of self-management and a permanent everyday task of workers and other working people and citizens, of organizations of associated labor, and of other self-managed organizations and communities. Meanwhile, in regulating nationwide defense and social self-protection the Law on Associated Labor takes for granted that the rights and duties of the workers and other working people in the domain of nationwide defense have been treated in detail in other laws (the Law on National Defense, the Law on Service in the Armed Forces, the Law on Military Duty and other federal, republic and provincial laws) and that to regulate nationwide defense more broadly in this law would have been pointless and unjustified. That is why the Law on Associated Labor has dealt with the subject matter of nationwide defense and

social self-protection only to the extent that that was necessary to ensure conformity and linkage between the system of nationwide defense and social self-protection and the system of associated labor based on self-management which is the foundation of nationwide defense and its point of departure.

The Law on Associated Labor Also Regulates Basic Social Relations in the Domain of National Defense and Social Self-Protection

When in its provisions the Law on Associated Labor speaks about the rights, duties and responsibilities of workers and the working people in general, about income, about socially owned assets, about mutual relations in associated labor, about the basic organizational forms of associated labor, about the bodies of self-management and about various forms of decision-making, workers' self-management control, self-management accords, social compacts and other general self-management acts, and also about responsibility for performance of official functions in self-management, about providing relevant information to the workers, about punitive provisions and social protection of self-management rights and social property, as well as about other matters, though nowhere is there explicit mention of nationwide defense in all these provisions, they apply just as much to this domain in the life of society as all other domains.

One can draw a clear conclusion to this effect from the basic provisions of the Law on Associated Labor, and especially from the provision which is entirely devoted to nationwide defense and social self-protection, which provides that workers in organizations of associated labor and in other self-managed organizations and communities have the right and duty--within the limits of their regular activity--to organize, conduct and improve nationwide defense and social self-protection (Article 42 of the Law on Associated Labor). It is their right, as the law explicitly states, to adopt programs of measures and activities in organizing, conducting and improving nationwide defense and social self-protection in basic and other organizations of associated labor and self-managed organizations and communities and to provide for that purpose the necessary material resources and to adopt relevant self-management acts and to take other steps as well (Article 42 of the Law on Associated Labor).

If we take this statement of principle of the Law on Associated Labor and relate it to the provisions of the Law on National Defense, in which the rights and duties of workers and the working people, of organizations of associated labor and of other self-managed organizations and communities are specifically regulated, we can see that they have broad and very significant rights and duties. The place and role of sociopolitical organizations in associated labor and especially of trade union organizations and bodies can also be clearly seen.

During the public debate of the draft of the Law on Associated Labor in many assemblies of working people and citizens in organizations of associated labor and local communities there were demands that the issue of informing workers about nationwide defense and social self-protection also be

included in the provisions of the Law on Associated Labor, and this was indeed adopted in the final version of the Law on Associated Labor.

From the standpoint of further socialization of nationwide defense and implementation of the conception of nationwide defense it is extremely important that the workers in associated labor be informed about nationwide defense and social self-protection. If the working people are to be able to exercise their rights and discharge their duties in the domains of nationwide defense and social self-protection, just as in other spheres they must be fully, regularly, punctually and truthfully informed about all matters concerning them. That is why the duties of offices and bodies in associated labor and of organizations of associated labor include the duty of regularly furnishing the workers information accessible to them in both content and form concerning preparations for nationwide defense and implementation of social self-protection, just as they must inform them about other matters which have a bearing on management, decisionmaking and the exercise of workers' self-management control (Article 546 of the Law on Associated Labor).

The Legal Obligation to Inform the Workers and the Trade Union Organization About the Status of Nationwide Defense and Social Self-Protection in the Organization of Associated Labor

It is the legal obligation of the workers council and other offices and bodies of the organization of associated labor to inform the workers about matters concerning nationwide defense and social self-protection. At the same time, the workers have the right and duty to demand that they be informed about the proceedings and execution of the decisions of the workers council, executive body or professional manager of the basic organization and about all matters concerning nationwide defense and social self-protection. The offices and bodies of the organization of associated labor have a duty to inform the workers about nationwide defense and social self-protection in a manner which enables every worker to familiarize himself with the reports of those offices and bodies, to examine them and to determine his own position. The law, the bylaws and other general self-management acts of the organization of associated labor regulate the procedure and intervals for informing the workers, the subject matter on which the workers shall be informed, and also those offices and bodies responsible for informing the workers (Article 547 of the Law on Associated Labor).

The federal Law on National Defense, the republic law on national defense, and the republic laws on the basic elements of social self-protection have set forth the procedure for informing the workers about nationwide defense and social self-protection and have specified the matters on which they shall be so informed. According to the provisions of the Law on Associated Labor and the other laws enumerated above, organizations of associated labor have a duty to elaborate and regulate in detail the question of informing the workers in their own general self-management acts: bylaws, self-management accord, regulation concerning national defense, regulation concerning social self-protection, regulation concerning secrecy and other general self-management acts of organizations of associated labor.

In Article 549 the Law on Associated Labor also commits the workers council and professional management of the organization of associated labor to inform the workers and trade union about warnings, findings and decisions of the public defender of self-management law, the Social Accounting Service, a body or officer empowered to oversee the lawfulness of the actions of the organization of associated labor, the courts, agencies and bodies of sociopolitical communities, and the trade unions, if those officers, bodies and agencies so require. Consequently, this is another way in which the trade union organization, which also means the working people as a whole, must be informed about the status and findings concerning nationwide defense and social self-protection so that they can take steps toward carrying out the tasks which have been set and toward correcting shortcomings which have been found.

Failure to discharge the duty of informing the workers council and other bodies of the organization of associated labor, the workers and trade union represents a violation of the workers' rights. Failure to discharge the duty of informing the workers and the trade union concerning nationwide defense and social self-protection constitutes a violation of work duties on the part of professional management. If because of a failure to inform or the deliberate issuing of untruthful information a decision has not been adopted or a harmful decision has been adopted in the domain of nationwide defense and social self-protection, the professional management in the basic organization of associated labor shall also be financially liable.

Whenever the workers are informed, regardless of the manner, consideration must be given to the needs of self-protection, security and the protection of secret data of particular importance to national defense as well as to the duty to protect and preserve military, trade, government and other secrets, which is also specifically set forth in the Law on Associated Labor as a duty of all organizations of associated labor. Information regarded as military or other secret on the basis of this law and other enactments (bylaws, self-management accord or other general self-management act of the organization of associated labor) may neither be made public nor divulged to unauthorized persons. The duty to preserve secrets also applies to all workers who in performance of their duty or in any other manner come into the knowledge of information regarded as secret. This duty persists even after termination of the employment relation. Performance of this duty certainly does not jeopardize the worker's basic right to be informed to the necessary degree about the matters on which he decides.

Problems in the domain of protecting national defense secrets in organizations of associated labor and in other agencies and organizations are more and more a topic for various discussions and other deliberations, which indicate how topical this issue is. In these deliberations there are certain differences in conception and approach, and behind them stand differences in behavior in practice and differences in the attitude toward these problems; at the same time answers need to be found to a number of urgent questions. The question of secrecy in the context of socialized national defense has particular importance and deserves detailed treatment. The

socialization of national defense has brought the working people into a position where they directly deliberate and decide even about those national defense problems that have to do with security. They do this with a pronounced feeling of responsibility, but often they do not have sufficient experience, so that there may be differences in conception that even go to extremes that deviate from the conception of nationwide defense.

Protection of Secrecy When Nationwide Defense Has Been Socialized

One of these extremes is manifested by the opinion held in some places that the socialization of national defense precludes the need for taking any sort of measures toward security and protection of secrecy. Another extremist conception is the complete opposite of the first and is manifested in the assertion that all national defense affairs should be classified and must therefore remain in the jurisdiction of a small group of people professionally concerned with defense problems. Various arguments are presented in both cases, but they are unacceptable under the Law on Associated Labor and the basic principles set forth in the Law on National Defense.

Protection of secrecy and ever greater sophistication about security are, then, integral and inseparable elements of the defense preparations of all the working people and citizens and of every agency and organization carrying out such preparations. There are a number of primary factors making this necessary, such as:

- i. the intense and unremitting interest of foreign intelligence services in general and in particular the interest of intelligence services and other forces of a potential aggressor in all those preparations;
- ii. the fact that a large number of the working people and citizens are involved in defense affairs, thereby having become holders of important secret national defense information and the high rate of personnel turnover in organizations of associated labor, which increases even more the number of persons who hold secret information; the large number of persons subject to military service who go abroad for temporary employment; the ramified relations with foreign trading partners and foreign countries in business, tourism and other domains, and so on; and
- iii. the fact that our effectiveness and surprise of an adversary will depend greatly on how successfully we preserve the secrecy of our own plans and intentions from possible aggressors, surprise being one of the essential preconditions for effective defense and for protection of human life and property.

It is precisely because of all these facts that the Law on National Defense has regulated two essential matters important to national defense security. The following of its provisions are some of those important to organizations of associated labor:

i. the duty of the working people and citizens, of organizations of associated labor and of other organizations and agencies of sociopolitical communities to take appropriate measures to preserve the secrecy of secret national defense data and to carry out the measures for protection of such data prescribed and ordered (Article 196, Paragraph 1, of the Law on National Defense),

ii. the duty of organizations of associated labor and of other organizations and government agencies to adopt a general act in which they explicitly specify which types of data within their jurisdiction have a bearing on national defense and as such are regarded as secret national defense data and in which they specify the measures and procedure for their protection (Article 196, Paragraph 2, of the Law on National Defense),

iii. the duty of organizations of associated labor and of other organizations and government agencies to adopt a general act in which they set forth special measures and procedure for protection of secret national defense data in relations with foreign natural and legal persons (Article 196, Paragraph 4, of the Law on National Defense),

iv. the obligation of the Federal Executive Council to prescribe the criteria for classification of data important to national defense within the jurisdiction of organizations of associated labor and other organizations and government agencies which must be kept as a state or official secret and who specify for such data mandatory measures for protection of their secrecy (Article 195, Paragraph 2, of the Law on National Defense).

Pursuant to the basic principles set forth in the Law on National Defense, in a session on 23 January 1975 the Federal Executive Council enacted the Decree on Criteria for Classification of Data Important to National Defense and on Measures to Protect the Secrecy of Such Data, which was published in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in No 6 on 7 February 1975 and also in the journal OD-BRANA I ZASTITA in its first issue for 1975. The working people should familiarize themselves with this decree and its provisions, and all agencies and organizations are required to participate in its enforcement. This would help to avoid a number of misunderstandings and improvisations in interpretation and explanation of the subject of national defense secrets. This decree precisely states the tasks of all agencies and organizations, including organizations of associated labor. The provisions of this decree should be given their proper place in the self-management acts of organizations of associated labor, as is indeed envisaged by Article 24.

The Law on Associated Labor treats the question of various types of secrets in several of its articles. For example, in the provisions concerning responsibility for performance of work duties in Article 194, Paragraph 2, it specifically states that the general self-management act regulating the employment relation may establish the following as serious violations of work duties: nonperformance, improper performance or delinquent performance of jobs or work assignments pertaining to nationwide defense and social self-protection; negligent performance of jobs or work assignments which could

cause violations of business, military or other secrecy as established by law or general self-management act. A fine may be pronounced only for the following serious violations of work duties or other violations of work discipline: (Article 194)--careless performance of jobs or tasks which could cause a violation of business, military or other secrecy as set forth by law and self-management accord (Article 196 of the Law on Associated Labor).

We should also bear in mind that Article 204 provides that the procedure before the disciplinary commission shall be public, but that that commission may exclude the public from its session in order to preserve military, trade or other secrecy prescribed by law. In its provisions concerning trade secrets (Article 441, Paragraph 1) the Law on Associated Labor makes it mandatory that organizations of associated labor classify and preserve the secrecy of all documents and data pertaining to work which they do for the Yugoslav People's Army and for nationwide defense and social self-protection, if such activity has been classified as a military secret. Yet affairs concerning national defense and social self-protection are not to be kept exclusively in the hands of specialists and kept from the working people--the role of the trade unions.

During the public debate of the draft of the Law on Associated Labor there were people in some organizations of associated labor and in their trade union bodies and organizations who said that nationwide defense and social self-protection have not spread down to the level of the basic organization of associated labor, to the local trade union organization and all the working people in the work force, but are still in the hands of a limited number of persons, individuals, small groups, commissions, staff services, etc. It can be said that in certain basic organizations of associated labor and work communities there is still a tendency to confine affairs concerning defense and protection to small groups in the professional management, to staff services and to professional military entities, committees and commissions for nationwide defense and social self-protection.

There is even a tendency for a small number of organizations of associated labor and work communities to make a mystery of defense affairs and social self-protection. In these places the working people receive little or almost none of the most indispensable information in the domain of nationwide defense and social self-protection, which makes it difficult for them to exercise their rights and discharge their duties in nationwide defense and social self-protection. It must be borne in mind that nationwide defense and social self-protection are not nearly ancillary functions of associated labor, but are essential functions of self-management, a strategic and extremely important area of action and a constitutional function. If associated labor is to effectively perform this function, the working people must themselves participate in making decisions on the affairs of nationwide defense and social self-protection in organizations of associated labor, and if they are to make competent decisions, they must first be well informed. It is a well-known fact that the way in which any domain of life and work, and that includes nationwide defense, security and social self-protection,

is understood depends on the quality, amount and appropriateness of information.

Along with the other factors concerning worker information, the Law on Associated Labor is the greatest responsibility to the trade union, which may demand that the workers be informed about proceedings and performance of decisions of all officers and bodies within the organization of associated labor (Article 546 of the Law on Associated Labor). Visible results have been achieved in informing the workers about nationwide defense and social self-protection in certain organizations of associated labor and trade union organizations and bodies. However, there is a need for continued activity by the League of Communists, the trade unions and bodies of self-management in associated labor to develop the system whereby workers are informed about all affairs within this domain, since this is an important element which makes it possible for the workers to exercise their rights and discharge their duties and responsibilities in self-management.

Frequently the workers are informed by other means than through the trade union organization and the League of Communists. In certain organizations of associated labor this tends to make the information function the private property of individuals and groups. An effort is not made in the information that is given to motivate the worker to adopt attitudes which will be conducive to enactment of correct decisions about nationwide defense and social self-protection and to follow up on performance of those decisions.

The trade union has an important role in informing the workers in organizations of associated labor. The workers council and professional management are specifically required to furnish to the trade union organization all information which they furnish the workers, since they do not inform the trade union organization, this is a violation of worker rights. It should specifically be stated that if the professional manager does not inform the trade union organization, he thereby commits a violation of work duties. However, the way in which the workers are to be informed and those matters of nationwide defense and social self-protection on which the trade union organization is to be informed must be regulated in the bylaws and other general self-management act in the basic organization of associated labor, the work organization and the complex organization of associated labor.

The Role of the News Media in Informing the Working People About Nationwide Defense and Social Self-Protection

The news media (the press, radio, television, etc.) have an important role and important tasks in informing the working people about nationwide defense and social self-protection. That is why trade union organizations and bodies in organizations of associated labor and work communities, together with LCY organizations, must make unremitting efforts so that defense and protection are given their proper place and so that the working people receive timely and comprehensive information through these media. The most important task in performance of the information function is to help to make the working people sophisticated about nationwide defense and

social self-protection so that they understand the nature of defense and protection, to develop in them a confidence and belief that the country can be successfully defended against an aggressor, and on that basis to help build up a complete ideological and political unity in society. This means that the working people and citizens must be given up-to-date and objective information about all processes taking place in nationwide defense and social self-protection both at the level of the entire society's development and at the level of development of individual organizations of associated labor.

Organizations of associated labor in the public information field (the press, television, radio, etc.) have a right and duty to provide the public with objective, timely and regular information about nationwide defense and social self-protection, about various forms of hostile and antisocialist activity, and also about the causes and forms of manifestation of other dangers and attacks on the property and values of this society. The news media have a duty to inform the working people and citizens thoroughly about those activities and measures which come under the head of social self-protection so as to develop their consciousness of self-protection and also to enable all public entities to do better, more complete and more thorough work in providing and developing social self-protection and in the mutual cooperation among all those participating in social self-protection.

The laws on social self-protection of the socialist republics and autonomous provinces provide that organizations of associated labor, local communities and other self-managed organizations and communities, sociopolitical communities and their agencies and staff services must make it possible for the news media to obtain data necessary to perform their jobs and tasks in informing the working people and citizens about nationwide defense and social self-protection. Local trade union organizations in the news media therefore have the indispensable role of making a constant effort so that the working people and citizens obtain complete information through the news media.

Resolutions of the Fifth Meeting of the Council of the League of Yugoslav Trade Unions About the Manner in Which the Working People Are To Be Informed About Nationwide Defense Affairs

In addition to the news media we have mentioned, it should also be borne in mind that today about 1,500 newspapers with a circulation of over 3.5 million every month are published in basic organizations of associated labor. About 1,000 bulletins are also printed, each of them with a circulation of several hundred. There are also several thousand loudspeaker news services, and occasional publications are printed.

Almost every other worker reads a house organ where he works, so that these newspapers of organizations of associated labor represent a very important element in the system whereby workers are informed about nationwide defense and social self-protection. In its Fifth Meeting the Council of the League of Yugoslav Trade Unions made it the task and obligation of all trade union

organizations and bodies to work in conjunction with the editors of papers and with information services of organizations of associated labor in assessing their involvement in the past and the way in which the working people are informed about affairs related to nationwide defense and social self-protection and to adopt programs containing measures and actions to make their involvement concerning these affairs more complete.

The Council of the League of Yugoslav Trade Unions made it mandatory that all trade union bodies and organizations must make an effort in the following directions:

- i. to see that the rights and obligations of all bodies, offices and organizations in the domain of informing workers about affairs of national defense and social self-protection be regulated in all bylaws, self-management accords and other self-management acts in organizations of associated labor;
- ii. to see that when decisions are being made in worker caucuses the workers first receive the most complete and detailed information about the matters being deliberated in the caucuses;
- iii. to see that the workers receive the fullest, most comprehensive and most timely information on all affairs concerning nationwide defense and social self-protection by means of meetings, lectures, seminars, consultations and other organizational forms;
- iv. to see that delegates and delegations inform the workers about their own work, proceedings of bodies to which they have been delegated, and all decisions which have been made;
- v. to see that the news media as a whole devotes still greater attention to matters concerning nationwide defense and social self-protection and to clarify the goals and importance of this area;
- vi. to strengthen the internal system whereby workers receive information about the political and military situation and defense preparations; to see that the workers are familiarized in good time with the content of the Law on National Defense and decrees, decisions, orders and other acts in the domain of nationwide defense and social self-protection, about the status and outstanding tasks with regard to defense preparations of organizations of associated labor, concerning the latest methods in which adversaries operate, various forms of sabotage and methods of detecting them, and measures taken to prevent hostile activity of all types,
- vii. to see that in future workers' self-management control pays far greater attention to the problems of socializing nationwide defense and implementing its conception and to see that all measures of social self-protection are taken within organizations of associated labor and work communities; and to see that the bodies of workers' self-management control regularly inform the working people and trade union organizations about the

measures of nationwide defense and social self-protection taken in the workplace.

If we are to rid ourselves of the taboo on discussion of defense preparations and social self-protection and their confinement to the staff services and specialists or small groups of "trustworthy people," we must implement Articles 546 through 550 of the Law on Associated Labor, which contain the obligation to inform the workers in associated labor. Article 546 of the law clearly states the obligations which offices, bodies and organizations in associated labor have in supplying regular and timely information to the working people about nationwide defense and social self-protection. Consequently, there is no longer any room for arbitrariness in evaluation by anyone as to whether the workers should be informed or not about matters related to the defensive organization and preparation of the basic organization. This has now become a legal requirement.

The workers in associated labor should be informed in a planned and systematic way, through all channels, in all sectors, and by all sociopolitical organizations. There is no reason for the work force or the basic organization of the trade union not to hold a closed meeting of the working people or the work force or a meeting of the basic trade union organization in which the workers would be familiarized even with the most highly classified material, since that material concerns themselves and would serve them in realizing as fully as possible the conception of nationwide defense in organizations of associated labor. Experience demonstrates that the working people should be continuously informed about the status and problems of defense preparations in their workplace or basic organization of associated labor, in the sociopolitical organization, as well as in the local community and in the sociopolitical community at the higher level. In any case the Law on Associated Labor requires that every workingman be informed about his work and production assignment and his defense assignment and assignments related to defense preparations in the organization of associated labor and the local community.

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